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Performance History of Mahler's *Das Lied Von Der Erde* Focusing on Bruno Walter and Leonard Bernstein

Nisan Ak

PERFORMANCE HISTORY OF MAHLER'S *DAS LIED VON DER ERDE* FOCUSING ON BRUNO WALTER AND LEONARD BERNSTEIN

by

Nisan Ak

Bachelor of Music
Istanbul Bilgi University, 2014

Master of Music
City University of New York-Queens College, 2016

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Accepted By:

David Garner, Major Professor

Alicia Walker, Committee Member

Andrew Gowan, Committee Member

Donald Portnoy, Committee Member

Cheryl L. Addy, Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

DEDICATION

To my parents, Melda Omay and Alper Ak.

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ABSTRACT

This document will explore the relationship between performance practices of Bruno Walter's and Leonard Bernstein's interpretations of *Das Lied von der Erde*. Bruno Walter was a student and assistant of Gustav Mahler. The composer never heard his unnumbered symphony played by an orchestra. Walter gave the first performance of the piece and made the first recording. This author considers Leonard Bernstein to be Walter's interpretational successor of *Das Lied von der Erde*. Throughout the document, the author will explore the relationship between the three musicians through the analysis of *Das Lied* and a detailed exploration of interpretations of Walter and Bernstein.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

FOREWEORD

This document is part of the dissertation requirement for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Performance. The major portion of the dissertation consists of four public recitals. Copies of the recital programs are bound at the end of this paper, and recordings of the recitals are on file in the Music Library.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND

Das Lied von der Erde, Gustav Mahler's unnumbered symphony written for Tenor, Contralto (or Baritone), and Orchestra, was perhaps the composer's greatest piece. Mahler, unfortunately, did not live to hear his work performed. Written in 1908, the symphony was first performed on November 20, 1911, six months after the composer's death. *Das Lied*'s debut was conducted by Mahler's successor, Bruno Walter, in Munich.

Bruno Walter was a piano student when he saw Hans von Bülow perform and began his own path towards becoming a conductor.[1] His famous friendship with Mahler started after Mahler accepted Walter to be a voice coach in the Hamburg Opera in 1885. Like Mahler, Walter's conducting career began when he substituted for a suddenly-ill conductor at the last minute. Even after the two musicians became long-term friends, it was only once Walter accepted a position in Vienna in 1900 that they could work together. They remained close until Mahler departed from Vienna in 1908. Walter became acquainted with *Das Lied* in 1910 when Mahler presented the manuscripts to Walter to study. Walter was overwhelmed with the quality of the work.

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[1] Bruno Walter, *Theme and Variations: An Autobiography* (H. Hamilton, 1947):39.

In the New York Philharmonic's (NYP) 1934 program notes, the composition was titled as a symphony, but in the same program it was also said that some refer to it as a song cycle. Due to Beethoven and Bruckner's misfortune of passing away after the composition of their ninth symphonies, Mahler was worried he would suffer a sudden death if he titled the piece his ninth symphony. To escape the mysterious curse, he called it *Das Lied von der Erde*. Titling rather than numbering, created confusion about whether it was a song cycle or a symphony. Though the composition was titled instead of numbered, it was referred to as a symphony by the composer.

In the New York Philharmonic's April 15, 1960 program with Bruno Walter, *Das Lied* was labelled and advertised as a symphony to the audience. In his Young People's Concert Series, Bernstein described the composition as "Mahler's greatest symphony." Mahler indeed fooled the gods of symphonic numbers for a short time, yet he numbered his next symphony as the ninth and died writing the tenth.

During his years as a music director with the NYP, Bernstein conducted *Das Lied* as a part of the Young People's Concert series for the first time on January 25, 1960. The second time he performed *Das Lied* was in his debut with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (VPO) in 1966. The concert's program was very similar to Bruno Walter's first *Das Lied* performance with the NYP. Walter conducted the symphony paired with Mozart's *Piano Concerto No. 20*, playing the solo part himself on December 20, 1934. Bernstein produced a very similar Vienna program, programming the Mozart's *Piano Concerto No. 15* in the first half, playing the piano part himself, and *Das Lied* in the second half. Instead of an alto voice, he used a baritone. Bernstein made two recordings of *Das Lied* during his conducting career, and his 1966 performance was recorded and published

as an LP by London Records, UK. At the time, this was the only published recording with a baritone voice.

For his 1966 Vienna Debut, Bernstein used the Vienna Philharmonic Archives' *Das Lied* score instead of his own. That score was marked primarily by Bruno Walter, and after his performance, Bernstein borrowed the score and never returned it. This particular score became part of the New York Philharmonic's archival collection after Bernstein's death. In 2017, the New York Philharmonic Orchestra and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra held a joint exhibition of their archival sources of scores, parts, and business documents. The exhibition was held in New York first, then in Vienna. The *Das Lied von der Erde* score Bernstein borrowed from the VPO was finally returned to its home in Vienna on March 28, 2017, after the last exhibition.

It was through Leonard Bernstein's advocacy that Mahler gained popularity and fame both in the United States and abroad.[2] New audio and visual recording technology, Young People's Concerts, TV appearances, and concerts allowed Bernstein to reach much larger audiences than Mahler ever did during his lifetime.[3] Even when Mahler was a renowned conductor and composer in New York City, he did not have the same widespread fame and acknowledgment that Bernstein held.

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[2] Bernstein, Leonard. "Mahler: His Time Has Come." High Fidelity 17, no. 9 (1967): 51–54.
[3] Mugmon, Matthew. "Beyond the Composer-Conductor Dichotomy: Bernstein's Copland-Inspired Mahler Advocacy." Music and Letters 94, no. 4 (November 1, 2013): 606–27.

JUSTIFICATION AND NEED FOR THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to understand Bernstein's musical decisions in his 1966 *Das Lied von der Erde* performance with the Vienna Philharmonic. Much has been written concerning the composition and conducting careers of Bernstein, Walter, and Mahler, but there is no existing research on Bernstein's 1966 Vienna debut of *Das Lied von der Erde*, the annotations on Bernstein's borrowed Walter score, and a performance history of the work. Current research on Mahler, Walter, and Bernstein primarily focuses on this relationship from a historical perspective. However, this document will investigate the performance history of *Das Lied* through analysis and critical listening. This document will explore the Mahler-Walter-Bernstein relationships and seek to understand all three from a conductor's perspective while also investigating this intriguing journey of the *Das Lied* score borrowed from Vienna. This document will discuss the three musicians' views on *Das Lied* and compare their performance history, and investigate how Walter's and Bernstein's interpretations were loyal to the score. Knowing that Walter both premiered and made the first recording of the piece, this document will examine how his interpretations effected Bernstein.

REVIEW OF THE RELATED RESEARCH

I. Gustav Mahler

Bruno Walter's biography of Mahler draws on Walter's recollections of his mentor, mostly from the Vienna, Steinbach, and Hamburg years. The book contains treasured insights about Mahler's life, such as his rehearsal behaviors and struggles during his professional life. Walter also talks about Mahler's death and *Das Lied's* first performance, which was premiered in Munich a year after the composer's sudden death. First published

in 1936, his book was re-published in the United States in 1958. It begins with a preface written by the author and proceeds with recollections and reflections about his mentor. Additionally, Walter includes Mahler's different musical life roles, such as opera director, conductor, and composer. The book is an essential source for insight into Gustav Mahler's craft from another composer/conductor's point of view, who was also Mahler's pupil.[4]

Peter Franklin's book, *The Life of Mahler*, is one of the fundamental biographies for understanding Mahler's life. The book progresses chronologically through Mahler's life and is a compilation of primary sources such as biographies, letters, and the recollections of Alma Mahler-Werfel, Theodor Adorno, Natalie Bauer-Lechner, and several other friends of Mahler. While Franklin discusses Mahler's life with citations and anecdotes, the author also paints a picture of each geographical space, helping the reader understand the details of Mahler's experiences and surroundings. Franklin writes about Mahler's contemporaries and the political scene of each city where he lived.[5]

One of the most cited books about Mahler's works' analysis is Constantin Floros' *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies*.[6] This book divides Mahler's compositional life into three categories: early, middle, and late. Donald Mitchell examines each symphony with great care in his three-volume biography.[7] In the third volume of the collection, there is specific

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[4] Bruno Walter, *Gustav Mahler* (A.A. Knopf, 1958).
[5] Peter Franklin, *The Life of Mahler* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).
[6] C. Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies Paperback* (Amadeus Press, 2003),
[7] Mitchell, Donald and Andrew Nicholson, eds. The Mahler Companion. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

information about the borrowed and altered texts as well as the structural analysis of each movement of *Das Lied*.

One of the most detailed biographies of Gustav Mahler is a four-volume collection written by Henry-Louis de La Grange. From descriptions of the neighborhood where Mahler was born to his funeral, this collection contains every possible detail one can find about Mahler's life in four lengthy volumes.[8] Alma Mahler-Werfel wrote two books about Gustav Mahler: *And the Bridge is Love*[9] and *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*.[10] Mahler was Alma Mahler-Werfel's first husband, and they stayed together until Mahler's sudden death. Mahler-Werfel naturally witnessed many of Gustav Mahler's historical moments and had first-hand insight into his works and thoughts.

II. Bruno Walter

Written by Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* is one of the most recent Walter biographies published. This comprehensive volume on Walter has seventeen chapters covering every episode of his musical and personal life. It includes his early life, the years of his assistantship to Mahler, his first appearances in Vienna and New York, and the concert in which he paired *Das Lied* with *Mozart Piano Concerto No. 15* in 1934. This very dense work is useful for studying Bruno Walter, but also helpful in learning about more about those around Walter, such as Bernstein. The book

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[8] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler:* Volume 1-4 (OUP Oxford, 2008).
[9] Alma Mahler, *And the Bridge Is Love*, 1958.
[10] Alma Mahler, *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters* (Cardinal, 1990).

contains historical information, geographical details, professional and family relationships, anecdotes from letters, and samples from critiques.[11]

Initially published in 1957, *Of Music and Music-Making* was written after Walter's autobiography *Theme and Variations*.[12] *Of Music and Music-Making* features Walter's recollections and reflections on his experiences, making it an incomparable source for those working in musicology and conducting. Throughout the book, one can find unique perspectives about Walter's involvement in music-making, his life as a conductor, recollections about Walter's friends (like Mahler), and advice to musicians.

III. Leonard Bernstein

As one of the most famous classical musicians of the 20th century, there is extensive research on Leonard Bernstein's compositional and conducting careers. One of the best compilations on his conducting and composing life was published in 1988 for his 70th birthday by the Boston Symphony Orchestra.[13] The book discusses Bernstein as a cultural phenomenon, teacher, recording artist, television performer, and international celebrity. The collection has detailed accounts directly from those who worked very closely with Bernstein. This book was necessary for this author's research because of Bernstein's conducting activities in Vienna and the composer's love for study of Mahler.

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[11] Erik Ryding and Rebecca Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter: A World Elsewhere* (Yale University Press, 2008).
[12] Walter, *Theme and Variations*.
[13] Steven Ledbetter, Leonard Bernstein, and Boston Symphony Orchestra, *Sennets & Tuckets: A Bernstein Celebration* (Boston Symphony Orchestra in association with D.R. Godine, 1988).

As much as others' recollections about Bernstein, Walter, and Mahler are of value, it is equally valuable to read about their endeavors from their own points of view. *The Leonard Bernstein Letters,* edited by Nigel Simeone, is a collection of letters compiled by the Bernstein family, the Bernstein Collection, the Library of Congress, and the Leonard Bernstein Office. The earliest letter found in this collection dates from 1932 and is written to Bernstein's piano teacher, later his secretary, Helen Coates. The last letter in the book is written by George Solti on October 10, 1990, expressing his sadness about Bernstein's retirement from conducting.

Bernstein has been described as the most photographed, televised, documented, scrutinized, analyzed, criticized, and finally lionized and celebrated artist of the second half of the twentieth century.[14] A collection of writings edited by Barbara Haws, the longtime archivist of the New York Philharmonic, and Burton Bernstein, Leonard Bernstein's brother, was published in 2010. *Leonard Bernstein: American Original* reconsiders the artist as a New Yorker, through his Judaism, and as an intellectual. The book allows for the examination of Bernstein's life from many aspects, including his extraordinary appreciation of Mahler and his works.

METHODOLOGY

This document combines information from Mahler, Walter, and Bernstein's biographical sources and recollections as well as analytical studies made for *Das Lied,* and critical listening of recordings conducted by Bernstein and Walter. Mahler never heard *Das*

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[14] Burton Bernstein and Barbara Haws, *Leonard Bernstein: American Original* (Harper Collins, 2010).

Lied performed, but he discussed the music with his close friends. Utilizing this knowledge, Bruno Walter premiered the composition and later became a mentor and a close friend to Bernstein. This research is intended to both deliver a full understanding of Bernstein's Vienna debut and also to unravel what insights into Mahler's music might have passed from Walter to Bernstein. A primary approach will be understanding what Mahler thought of his own music. While there are many published recollections about him, there is minimal written information about *Das Lied* directly from Mahler.

The idea for this study came after reading about Bernstein's borrowed *Das Lied* score finally being returned to Vienna in 2017. Even though this document progresses chronologically starting with Mahler, the study began with the score. Research into *Das Lied* and Mahler led to Walter and his important recordings and to Bernstein and his interpretations on his first recording of the music.

The primary musical source in this document is Bernstein's marked conductor's score used in his 1966 Vienna debut. This score belonged to the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra and was used by several conductors before Bernstein, though mainly by Walter. This score was not returned to Vienna until 27 years after Bernstein's death. During the Spring of 2018, the Vienna Philharmonic Archives gave this author permission to copy the marked score. The composition will be analyzed based on Floros',[15] de La Grange's,[16] and Hefling's[17] detailed analyses of *Das Lied von der Erde*. Bernstein's marked score will be analyzed through its markings and corrections, hopefully also identifying possible

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[15] Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies Paperback*.
[16] Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 4*.
[17] Stephen E. Hefling, *Song of the Earth* (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

contributors before Bernstein such as Walter and Mendelberg, who both were conductors at the Vienna Philharmonic and had access to the score.

Bernstein made two recordings of *Das Lied von der Erde*. His first recording was during his 1966 debut with the Vienna Philharmonic,[18] and the second one was with the Israel Philharmonic in 1974[19] During his rehearsals with the Israel Philharmonic, Bernstein also taped an interview about his understanding of Mahler and *Das Lied*,[20] which has clear footage of some pages of the score he used. It is indeed the same score he borrowed from the Vienna Philharmonic and is the score that will be studied for the purpose of this document. The identification of Bernstein's handwriting and score marking is made possible through the New York Philharmonic online archives. Bruno Walter also made three recordings of the composition, one of which is the first recording ever of the work. The first and second recordings in 1937 and 1953 were made with the Vienna Philharmonic. The last recording of *Das Lied von der Erde* that Bruno Walter made was with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1963.

The Austrian press reviewed Bernstein's 1966 Vienna Philharmonic debut, and documents of the translated critiques are available in the New York Philharmonic online

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[18] "Mahler - King, Fischer-Dieskau, Vienna Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein - *Das Lied von der Erde*. Recorded 1966. Decca Classics: 466 381-2
[19] "Mahler - Leonard Bernstein, Israel Philharmonic, Christa Ludwig, René Kollo - *Das Lied von der Erde*. Recorded 1972. Sony Classical: 19439708562
[20] Humphrey Burton, *Das Lied von Der Erde: A Personal Introduction*, Documentary, Music, 1972.

archives.[21] Bernstein's marked scores, those of a few other conductors, and the marked parts of the orchestra, program notes, and business documents are also on the website.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This document will be in two main sections. The first three chapters will include an introduction, all relevant biographical information about the musicians, and the analysis of Gustav Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. Chapters four to six will include a detailed analysis of Bernstein's 1966 Vienna Philharmonic debut and the performance history of *Das Lied von der Erde* with a focus on Bruno Walter's recordings as well as a summary of the document.

Chapter Two offers a biographical introduction to Gustav Mahler, Bruno Walter, and Leonard Bernstein. Chapter Three is the analysis of *Das Lied von der Erde* through a theoretical lens and the breakdown of the usage of text in the composition. Chapter Four is the analysis of Bruno Walter's first and last *Das Lied* recordings. Chapter Five will be specifically about Leonard Bernstein's 1966 debut with the Vienna Philharmonic, his conductors' score, and the recording analysis. Chapter Six is a summary of the document with concluding comments as well as suggestions for further studies.

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[21] " Bernstein, Leonard, Press from Vienna and London Concerts, Jan 1, 1966 - May 7, 1966 " accessed November 1, 2018, https://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/3d8e0a7c-0ce0-4bea-a778-58b8e5814241-0.1/fullview#page/1/mode/2up.

CHAPTER 2: BIOGRAPHIES OF MAHLER, WALTER, AND BERNSTEIN

GUSTAV MAHLER

Gustav Mahler was the second of twelve children born into a Jewish family of Czech origin on July 7, 1860 in the village of Kaliste, located in the Bohemian part of the Austrian Empire. Only half of his siblings survived past the age of thirteen. His family identified culturally as German rather than Czech and raised the children to read and write in German. Even though his family were considered members of the assimilated Jewish intelligentsia, they could not escape the consequences of anti-Semitism entrenched in the Austrian Empire. In December of 1860, the same year of Mahler's birth, his family moved to Iglau, a German-speaking enclave. At the age of four Gustav began playing the piano, and was later accepted into the Vienna Conservatory in 1875. After graduating and taking the Gymnasium exam, he was admitted to the University of Vienna where he took lessons in harmony, composition, piano, and percussion. By 1880, he had signed a five-year contract with his first manager Gustav Lewy. Lewy represented Mahler in Bad Hall, Ljubljana, Olomouc and Kassel.[22] Lewy's first engagement for Mahler was to conduct at Bad Hall in Upper Austria under the director

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[22] "Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) - Lewy Music Publishers," accessed November 11, 2018, http://www.gustav-mahler.eu/index.php/plaatsen/139-austria/vienna/576-lewy-gustav-1824-1901.

Ludwig Zwerenz.[23] In 1881 he was selected as a principal conductor in Ljubljana Theater under the director Alexander Mondheim-Scheiner, and in 1882 started working at the Olmütz theatre in Kassel. About a year later, Mahler moved to Prague to work with Angelo Neumann, who was going to take the music director position of the Prague Opera. On April 1, 1885, Mahler officially requested to be released from his contract with Kassel. Upon reception of Kassel's acquiescence, Mahler was able to accept Neumann's offer in July 1885 to be first Kapellmeister of the Prague Opera. He would only stay one year before joining Leipzig's Opera Theater. After just one season there, Mahler was offered the opportunity to serve as music director for Budapest's Royal Opera, where he remained until 1891. Mahler made important reforms during his tenure at the Royal Opera, such as primarily singing in Hungarian, hiring Hungarian musicians, and conducting large-scale German productions in Hungarian such as the *Ring* cycle. After Budapest, Mahler moved on to another new city, for a music director position in Hamburg. Appointed in 1891, Mahler would stay with the Hamburg Opera until 1897, and, while in the position, he composed his *Second Symphony*, *Third Symphony*, and *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

During the fifth season of his Hamburg residency, Mahler received terrible news from Vienna. His brother Otto committed suicide in the apartment of Mahler's friend, Nina Spiegler. His sister Justine later destroyed every letter and memoir related to Mahler's feelings about this experience. Then, on the morning of February 18, 1889, Mahler learned of his father's death. When he reached Iglau, he also learned of both his mother's and sister's illnesses. On September 21, his mother died from asthma, and, 15 days later, his

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[23] Grange, *Mahler:75*.

sister Poldi died from a brain tumor. Mahler lost most of his family in a very short period of time, and these horrible events would form the foundation for Mahler's crippling superstition against death, later influencing his decision to title the *Das Lied* symphony without the number "nine".

At the beginning of his fifth season with the Hamburg Opera, Mahler met the new Korropetitor, Bruno Schlesinger, who later changed his name to Bruno Walter due to anti-Semitism. Walter was an 18-year-old with a great knowledge of opera repertoire and excellent sight-reading skills. He impressed Mahler immediately, and Mahler began allowing him to rehearse the choir on his own, despite his lack of choral conducting experience.

After months of negotiations with the Vienna State Opera, Mahler arrived in Vienna on April 26, 1897 for an interview and was offered the Music Director position the very next day. On the tenth of May he was officially introduced to the orchestra and he announced that his first performance would be *Lohengrin*. His debut the next evening was a stirring success.[24] Mahler instituted a number of first-year reforms to protect the VSO musicians and gain more respect. He banned paid claques (paid audience members who clap at appropriate times), latecomers were to wait until the end of the first act to enter, and no complimentary tickets were distributed, even to critics. The repertoire was bolstered by eliminating cuts in Wagner's operas, removing breaks during *Das Rheingold*, and adding more Mozart to the season. The papers, especially the anti-Semitic ones, were not happy

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[24] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 2. Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897-1904)* (OUP Oxford, 1995): 26.

with these changes and neither were the singers who were accustomed to being applauded by the paid claques. Along with these strict reforms, Mahler made efforts to raise all of the orchestra musicians' salaries so that they could more easily live in Vienna instead of commuting from outer cities.

In 1898, Hans Richter, the Music Director of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra, asked to resign, citing debilitating pain in his arms. Mahler was selected for the position unanimously and almost immediately accepted the offer. His insistence on perfection was not welcomed by the orchestra after being accustomed to Richter's less-demanding attitude during his 13-year tenure.[25] His new interpretations of well-known works through tempi adjustments and re-orchestration were also heavily criticized, but he justified all of his decisions through research and analysis. He uttered his now famous quote "tradition is laziness" during the first years of his Vienna residence. He conducted the *Coriolan Overture,* Mozart's 40th Symphony, and *Eroica* by memory at his first concert with the Vienna Philharmonic on November 6, 1898. Even though he was criticized and compared to the contrasting former conductor Richter, the rising conductor was seemingly able to win over the audience.

Mahler met Alma Schindler at a dinner in November, 1901.[26] In just a few weeks, Mahler was introduced to Alma Schindler's family, and towards the end of December, they were engaged. Gustav Mahler's understanding of love was very difficult for Alma Schindler. For Schindler, Mahler provided inspiration to improve her composition, piano,

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[25] "The Golden Era," accessed December 16, 2018, https://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/orchestra/history/the-golden-era.
[26] Franklin, *The Life of Mahler:124*.

and theory skills. She also had an uncontrollable desire to protect him, as she perceived Mahler to be weak and defenseless. In contrast, Mahler saw his 19-years-younger fiancée as someone who could devote her whole life to his career.[27] Even though the marriage began with arguments and strife, during the Summer of 1902 Mahler wrote the famous fifth movement of the *Symphony No. 5* and *Rückert Lieder No. 5: Liebst du um Schöenheit*, both dedicated to Alma Mahler. Their daughter Marie Anna was born seven months after they married, and on June 15, 1904 their second daughter Anna Justine was born. That year, Mahler worked on the *Kindertotenlieder*, but Alma Mahler did not approve of the text and warned Gustav to "not tempt the fate."[28] Tragically, on November 7, 1907, Mahler' first child Marie Anna died. Even though the *Kindertotenlieder* was finished almost four years before her death, Mahler always felt the songs' heaviness throughout his life. He wrote to Guido Adler: "I placed myself in the situation that a child of mine had died. When I really lost my daughter, I could not have written these songs anymore."[29]

After the death of his daughter, Mahler became even more superstitious about dying. Beginning with the *Fifth,* Mahler considered his subsequent symphonies almost as sequels, each one being an introduction to the next. They would all lead to the farewell of *Das Lied von der Erde* and the *Symphony No.9*. Even though Mahler wrote *Das Lied* right after the *Eighth,* he did not number this symphony. His growing fear of death combined with his superstition led him to fear that he would follow Beethoven and Bruckner's fate and die

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[27] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 2. Vienna: The Years of Challenge (1897-1904)* (OUP Oxford, 1995), 2:455.
[28] Mahler, *Gustav Mahler*: 59.
[29] Theodor Reik, *The Haunting Melody; Psychoanalytic Experience in Life and Music* (New York, Farrar, Straus and Young, 1953): 315

after his ninth symphony. 1907 was one of the most challenging years of Mahler's life; in Alma's words, "this was the beginning of Mahler's end."[30] In addition to his daughter suffering from diphtheria, which eventually led to her death, this was the year of his diagnosis with heart disease, and his decision to leave Vienna permanently due to anti-Semitism.

As an internationally acclaimed conductor, Mahler began negotiations with New York's Metropolitan Opera for concerts in 1908.[31] The Mahler family moved to New York City at the end of 1907, and Mahler's Metropolitan Opera debut came on January 1, 1908 with a performance of *Tristan und Isolde*. In his first year in America, Mahler conducted in New York City, Philadelphia, and Boston. His first-year opera productions were *Tristan, Siegfried, Die Walküre, Don Giovanni*, and *Fidelio*. In the Summer of 1908, the Mahler family returned to Europe, and, after some concerts and visits, they were once again in Toblach for their Summer vacation. Mahler was in excellent health and eager to get back to writing. This would be the Summer that Mahler completed the most work on *Das Lied von der Erde*, after which he would start work on his *Symphony No. 9*.

In his last season with the NYP, Mahler was supposed to conduct 57 concerts, but he had to drop the last ten concerts due to his fast-growing illness. His final concert was on February 21, 1911. By the 24th of February, he was diagnosed with influenza and soon after was diagnosed with endocarditis. On May 12, the Mahler family arrived in Vienna. There, Mahler would be treated in the Low Sanatorium. By the 17th of May, he was unable

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[30] Ibid: 34.
[31] Henry-Louis de La Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 3. Vienna: Triumph and Disillusion (1904-1907)* (OUP Oxford, 1995).

to communicate and his morphine doses were increased. On May 18, 1911, on a stormy night, Mahler died at 11:05 pm.

On May 22, the Grinzing cemetery was filled with hundreds of Mahler's friends and countless wreaths. Mahler himself had asked to have no music at his funeral, and his tombstone only had his name and nothing else. It was utterly quiet, except for a single bird. Josef Bohuslav Förster says, "There above a world, shaken to its very foundations by the horrors of the Last Judgement, a solitary bird soars aloft, as high as the clouds themselves, the last living creature, and its song, free of all terror and free of all sadness, fades away quietly, ever so quietly, as, sobbing convulsively, its final note coincides with the entry of the trumpets that call both the quick and the dead to the judgment seat."[32]

BRUNO WALTER

Bruno Schlesinger was born in Berlin on September 15, 1876 to a middle-class Jewish family. His mother was a pianist, and his father was a bookkeeper. His first piano lessons were from his mother, who thought he was a prodigy. After hearing him playing Mendelssohn's *Songs Without Words in* F Major by memory at a wedding, the parents decided to have him perform for professionals. After the performance, he was accepted to the Stern Conservatory, where he would take piano and violin lessons. By the age of nine he had composed his first violin and piano sonata, and, by age twelve, he was competent enough as a pianist to appear with the Berlin Philharmonic as a soloist. He was a prodigy, just like his mother predicted.

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[32] Originally published as Josef Bohuslaw Förster, *Der Pilger* (Prague: Artia, 1955), 705.

Like Mahler, Schlesinger was destined to travel from one city to another to earn his living. One of his first jobs was in Hamburg as a coach for singers in the Stadttheater, where he would also meet Gustav Mahler. Schlesinger would quickly become Mahler's esteemed pupil, but unfortunately, by Mahler's second season, he was already planning on leaving Hamburg. While making arrangements for upcoming seasons, Mahler also arranged a new engagement for Schlesinger in Breslau, an appointment that was organized with the help of Mahler's impresario Theodore Löwe. The position came with a significant condition: changing Schlesinger's last name to a Christian-German one. This consequential decision was made with Mahler's help, and the name Walter was one of Mahler's suggestions.[33] Mahler, too, would make changes for his public life; he would announce his religious conversion a year after his appointment to the Vienna Opera.

Bruno Walter thought his artistic progress was not rapid enough in Breslau and would risk unemployment rather than staying there. Luckily, he received two letters offering two different music directing positions: one starting immediately in Pressburg and one starting the next year in Riga. After a depressing year in Pressburg, Walter moved to Riga and, unlike his first two theaters, Walter enjoyed working there. Riga was also where Walter would meet his future wife, Elsa. Even though some reviews were critical of his age, the majority showed his rising success. He would even turn down Mahler's offer as an assistant conductor at the Vienna State Opera to gain more independence. In November 1899, Walter was offered a position as the Royal Prussian Conductor by the Berlin State Opera. Being a Berliner, his homecoming was rejoiced in the press. But, as the first season

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[33] Ryding and Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter:* 22.

passed, he started to feel dissatisfied with German bureaucracy and Prussian manners. After some problems with management, Walter asked to be released from his contract and took Mahler's Vienna offer.

In 1907, Mahler announced his departure from Vienna. However, Walter did not resign from his position and stayed as an assistant conductor in the Hofoper and expanded his responsibilities. He conducted many premieres under the new directorship. Walter and Mahler remained in communication and continued to support one another's careers. In October 1909, Walter conducted Mahler's *Symphony No. 3* with great success. He conducted the premiere of *Das Lied von der Erde* six months after and *Symphony No. 9* in 1912. 1911 was not only the year of Mahler's tragic death, but it was also the year of the Munich Opera's music director, Felix Mottl's, sudden death. Walter would be chosen as his successor to conduct the premiere of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde,* paired with the *Symphony No. 2,* both performed on the evening of November 20, 1911. In addition to these world premieres, Walter gave the first Viennese performances of *Das Lied* and *Symphony No. 8* in the Spring of 1912. Walter gave the first performance of a version of *Das Lied* for two male singers in November, 1912. Between 1913 and1922, Walter held the title of Royal Bavarian Music Director and General Music Director of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich. On top of his fame as a Mahler interpreter, these years would also add to his reputation as an excellent Wagner interpreter.

The next chapter for Bruno Walter, after two years of unemployment, was as Music Director of the Deutsches Opernhaus between 1925 and 1929. Even though he was busy with the Opera, he still made guest appearances at the Berlin Philharmonic. He conducted *Das Lied von der Erde* for his first Philharmonic program, paired with Schubert's

Symphony No. 8 (Unfinished). Walter would also use this pairing for his last New York Philharmonic concert in 1960. Like Mahler in Vienna, Walter was criticized for being absent too often. This, combined with conflicts with the board of the orchestra, led him to resign from the Opera. Nevertheless, while his relationship in Berlin was dissolving, Gewandhaus showed more interest in working with him. Walter announced his resignation in March, 1929 and, for his farewell from Berlin, he conducted *Fidelio* in April and *Das Lied von der Erde* in June.

During his short residency as a Kapellmeister of the Gewandhaus Orchestra of Leipzig between 1929 and 1931, Walter had to fight Nazi bureaucracy and racism. He was heavily criticized after his German Sessions in Covent Garden in April, 1931 and was replaced with Sir Thomas Beecham. On January 29, 1933, while he was conducting a concert in Brooklyn, Walter received the news that Hitler would become the Chancellor of Germany. At the beginning of March, Walter met his family in Cuxhaven. After returning to Leipzig, Walter faced a government that did not want him to conduct. As a naturalized Austrian citizen for years, Walter decided to move back to Vienna with his family.[34]

He was appointed the principal guest conductor of Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra between 1934 and 1939. Everywhere he was scheduled to guest conduct, he was asked to perform Mahler symphonies, which were banned by the Nazis in Germany at the time. Walter was in the United States in 1933 from October to December. Then, at the end of 1934, Walter sailed to the United States once again and would stay until January 13, 1935. It was on this trip, in a concert on December 24, 1934, that Walter played Mozart's

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[34] Ryding and Pechefsky, *Bruno Walter:* 228.

Piano Concerto No. 20 in D minor on the first half and conducted Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde* in the second half.

Walter was offered a position at the Vienna Opera to be Weingartner's successor. Walter became the music director of the Opera between 1936 and 1938 and would use the same office where Mahler worked.[35] On May 24 of 1936, Walter recorded the first disk of *Das Lied von der Erde* with the Vienna Philharmonic, along with singers Kerstin Thorborg and Charles Kullman. This disk was made at a live concert at the Musikverein concert hall. Additionally, Mahler's *Symphony No. 9* was recorded for the first time by Walter and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra on January 16, 1938, again live at the Musikverein. After Hitler's takeover of Vienna on March 11, 1938, Walter was quickly exiled from the country.

The Walter family settled in Beverly Hills, and he immediately returned to the podium. He conducted the Los Angeles Philharmonic, NBC Symphony, Detroit Symphony, Chicago Symphony, Minneapolis Symphony, New York Philharmonic, Metropolitan Opera, and San Francisco Symphony. He would mostly conduct Austrian and German repertoire, but occasionally would include American composers and other European music such as Debussy and Sibelius. He went back and forth between the East and West coasts for the next six years. In December of 1942, he was offered the New York Philharmonic's music directorship position, but Walter did not accept the position due to its highly-demanding concert schedule and his age.

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[35] Ibid:248.

1943 was a difficult year for Walter's health. Due to his demanding schedule, he was unable to take a break to regain his strength. On November 14, he was scheduled to conduct the New York Philharmonic (NYP) performing Strauss' *Don Quixote* with the violinist William Lancer, but fell ill on the day of the performance. The NYP's new assistant conductor, Leonard Bernstein, had been appointed less than three years before in September 1943 by Artur Rodzinsky. Bernstein was called at 9 am to substitute for Walter and conduct the Philharmonic with no rehearsal. This concert would be remembered as Bernstein's overnight success. Bernstein met Rodzinsky and the Philharmonic's principal violist William Lincer at Walter's apartment to go through the challenging passages of *Don Quixote*. Bernstein would remember Walter as very gracious and helpful.[36] At 3:00 pm, Bernstein opened the concert with Robert Schumann's *Manfred Overture*. The concert would proceed with Miklos Rosza's *Theme, Variations, and Finale*. The second half was *Don Quixote,* along with Wagner's *Prelude to "Die Meistersinger"* as a closing piece.

In 1947, Walter finally accepted the position he was offered five years ago by the New York Philharmonic after the resignation of Artur Rodzinski, but he changed the title from Music Director to Music Advisor. During his residency, he made an effort to program American composers as much as European composers, but being the greatest Mahler interpreter of his time, he conducted Mahler's works as well. His first performance of *Das Lied von der Erde* with the NYP was in 1948. Leonard Bernstein, who tuned in to the Sunday broadcast, wrote to Walter later explaining that it was one of the greatest musical

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[36] Ibid:292.

experiences of his life.[37] However, only two years later, on October 4, 1949, Walter resigned from his position, explaining that the Philharmonic needed a Music Director "who can take the general responsibility for the Society's contribution to the cultural life of the country."[38] Even though he conducted many more concerts, he would never again take a music director position.

On March 7, 1957, Bruno Walter suffered a heart attack in New York City, which forced him to cancel all his public performances for a year and move back to Beverly Hills. After this incident, Walter would conclude his opera career and focus on recording sessions with occasional public concerts with an orchestra. Walter's recording sessions were with Columbia Symphony Orchestra for Columbia Records. This studio orchestra project was the idea of producer John McClure, who was very enthusiastic about recording the standard repertoire with the new stereo technology. The orchestra would make the recording sessions in Beverly Hills instead of NYC, due to Walter's health and the availability of freelance session musicians. Walter and McClure recorded many pieces from a broad range of composers from Beethoven and Mahler to Mozart and Brahms. Even though Walter drastically reduced his public performances, some offers were exceptionally tempting. One of them was the Mahler festival of the New York Philharmonic during the 1949-1950 season. Most concerts were conducted by Music Director Leonard Bernstein, and the former Music Director Dimitri Mitropoulos and Walter were to conduct only one performance. Bruno Walter decided to conduct *Das Lied von der Erde* one last time during

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[37] Ibid:318.
[38] Ibid:323.

the Mahler Festival. He gave four performances between April 15-24, 1960. The recording with the NYP was made in two days, on April 18th and 25th, and was his only stereo recording of *Das Lied*.

In December 1962, Walter wrote a letter to John McClure asking to postpone his upcoming recordings due to his recurring health problems. He died on February 17, 1963, from a heart attack.

LEONARD BERNSTEIN

Born on August 25, 1918, Leonard Bernstein was quickly recognized as a profound musical talent in his household. Both his parents, Jennie Resnick and Samuel Bernstein, emigrated from Ukraine when they were children.[39] Young Bernstein started his first piano lessons at the age of nine and his first public performance as a soloist with an orchestra came right after attending Boston Symphony Orchestra concerts in 1933 as an audience member. In May 1934, he played the first movement of Grieg's *Piano Concerto* with the Boston Public School Orchestra. After graduating from the Boston Latin School, Bernstein attended Harvard University and graduated *cum laude* on June 17, 1939. After, the young musician was accepted to Reiner's studio at the Curtis Institute of Music.[40] Immediately after his first year at Curtis, he was accepted into Koussevitzky's conducting class in Tanglewood. Bernstein completed his diploma with a broadcast concert conducting Brahms' A major Serenade.

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[39] Humphrey Burton, *Leonard Bernstein* (Doubleday, 1994): 5.
[40] Burton, *Leonard Bernstein:*60.

After graduating from Curtis, Bernstein moved to New York City. Aaron Copland was one of his biggest supporters and mentors during his NYC period. In his letters, Copland guided him on how to approach people and find work. By late August, 1943 the New York Philharmonic's new Music Director Artur Rodzinski decided that he needed an assistant conductor and Bernstein was offered the position. After celebrating his 25th birthday with his family, Bernstein would return to New York to discuss his new appointment with the NYP's management.

Bernstein's legendary substitution for Bruno Walter occurred on November 14, 1943, and on Saturday the 13th, a day before that concert, he had his new composition *I Hate Music* performed by his friend Jennie Tourel's New York debut in the Town Hall. Even though Bruno Zirato warned Bernstein that Bruno Walter was ill and he might have to conduct, Bernstein thought it unlikely he would be asked to step in at the last minute. So, he went to the concert and out with his friends afterwards. Sunday morning he received a call from Zirato informing him that he would have to conduct the concert at 3 pm with no rehearsal. As mentioned above in the biography of Walter, he generously offered Bernstein a last-minute lesson with the solo cellist and violist for Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*. In addition to *Scheherazade,* he would conduct Schumann's *Manfred Overture,* Miklós Rozsa's *Theme, Variations, and Finale,* and finally Wagner's *Meistersinger* Prelude. The New York Philharmonic broadcasted their Sunday concerts over the radio to the entire country, so this concert was not only for the 3,000 audience members in Carnegie Hall, but also be for anyone listening to through the radio. The concert was a huge success. Koussevitzky, who was listening to the broadcast, immediately

sent a telegram saying, "LISTENING NOW; WONDERFUL."[41] The New York Times would publish this success from the front page. The headline read "YOUNG AIDE LEADS PHILHARMONIC, STEPS IN WHEN BRUNO WALTER IS ILL."[42] His lifelong mentor Aaron Copland coincidentally was celebrating his birthday on the very same day. It was his 43rd birthday and the two had met on Copland's 37th birthday six years prior. Bernstein remembers Copland's response to the New York Times headlines as, "Oh, it's only what everybody expected."[43]

Bernstein was always openly political and frequently supported fundraisers for raising awareness of inequality for persons of color. On November 20, 1948, Bernstein conducted a memorable concert in Palestine with the Palestine Symphony (later the Israel Philharmonic). He conducted their tenth-anniversary season on tour in the middle of a war. The concerts were well attended and tremendously successful.

For the next ten years Bernstein would guest conduct many orchestras while writing symphonic pieces and Broadway productions. Orchestras he worked with during that period included the New York Philharmonic, Boston Symphony, Czech Philharmonic, La Scala, Minneapolis Symphony, and the Houston Symphony. In addition to guest appearances around the world, Bernstein kept his position in Palestine until 1949. At his farewell concert from the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra, he conducted *Das Lied von der Erde*. In his letter to Shirley Bernstein, his sister, on June 19, 1950, Bernstein would

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[41] Ibid:117.
[42] "Young Aide Leads Philharmonic, Steps In When Bruno Walter Is Ill; A WARM RECEPTION FOR 25-YEAR-OLD CONDUCTOR," *The New York Times*, November 15, 1943
[43] Bernstein, *Findings:*288.

write that "*Das Lied von der Erde* has greatly renewed my interest in conducting. I did my first one last night, and it is an experience to conduct it. When it's over, one wants only to crawl away and die somewhere. It is a summation of conducting. Now I can quit."[44]

At a press conference held at the Century Club on November 20, 1957 the New York Philharmonic announced Leonard Bernstein would be appointed as their first American-born music director, beginning in September 1958.[45] Although he was initially offered a three-year contract, he kept the music director position until 1969 and was later promoted as a Laureate Conductor until his death.

Bernstein changed the course of American classical music, and his work with the New York Philharmonic was an important part of that change. To begin, he eliminated the Thursday concerts from the subscription series. Instead, the dress rehearsals on Thursdays were to be informal and open to the public. There, Bernstein would rehearse the program and give speeches to the audience. These public rehearsals were sold separately under a new series titled Preview Concerts. Also during Bernstein's directorship, the NYP increased its touring schedule and increased the number of concerts from 131 per year to 192 per year. Even in his first year, critics observed a new maturity in the sound in the orchestra. Finally, his use of media bolstered the orchestra's national presence. The orchestra's Young People's Concert Series that he started shortly after his appointment would run 15 seasons with no break. These concerts were celebrated by American

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[44] "Letter from Leonard Bernstein to Shirley Bernstein, June 19, 1950," *Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA*, https://www.loc.gov/resource/lbcorr.00324.0/?sp=1.
[45] Burton, *Leonard Bernstein:* 282.

audiences and received many prizes, including an Emmy. The Ford Motor Company sponsored the TV series and, even though they stopped funding the series in 1962, Bernstein kept the program running with a minimal budget. In May 1969, Bernstein conducted his last concert with the NYP. In total, they performed 939 concerts together.

On February 22, 1966, Bernstein arrived in Vienna for a five-week-long engagement with the Vienna State Opera and the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. At 47 years old, this was his debut with both ensembles. He conducted and recorded Verdi's *Falstaff* with the Opera while conducting and recording *Das Lied* with the VPO in addition to Mozart's *Symphony No. 36* and *Piano Concerto No. 15*. The opening night for *Falstaff* was on March 14; Viennese critics described the maestro as "world-class on the podium. A genius in the service of Verdi."[46] After well-received performances and receptions, it was time to record the opera. This was not the first time Bernstein conducted *Falstaff,* he had done another production with the Metropolitan Opera back in New York City, but that production had not been recorded. After the performances were done in Vienna, Bernstein, the Opera, and Decca, the production company, began recording. Immediately after *Falstaff*, Bernstein began to record *Das Lied von der Erde* with the VPO. Mahler's *Das Lied* calls for a tenor and a mezzo-soprano, but Mahler gives the option to substitute a baritone for the mezzo. In this production, Bernstein decided to use the latter, with Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau as the tenor and James King as the baritone.

On April 2, 1966, Bernstein made his Vienna Philharmonic debut, conducting Mozart's *Piano Concerto No. 15, K.450* in the first half and leading Mahler's *Das Lied von*

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[46] Ibid:354.

der Erde in the second half. It was an instant success. Critics wrote that Bernstein was "the favorite child of Vienna's music-loving public" and the concert was the "best performance of *Das Lied von der Erde* since Bruno Walter's more than a decade previously."[47] The concert was repeated the next day, and another concert was given in Monte Carlo three days after. Bernstein took the score that belonged to the VPO and never returned it. This score was marked by previous conductors of the VPO who performed *Das Lied,* most likely by Bruno Walter. The score was returned to the VPO only after a joint exhibition of archival sources of the NYP and the VPO in 2017.[48]

This concert was the start of a great friendship between the two orchestras that still exists today. Bernstein never became the VPO's music director, but he gave 197 concerts with the orchestra, including 76 concerts while on tour. He made recordings of Beethoven and Mahler cycles, as well as works by Brahms, Schumann, Shostakovich, and Sibelius. The VPO presented the gold Otto Nikolai medal to Bernstein in 1967, only after a year of his debut concert. In 1978 he was given the honor ring, and in 1983 he was named as an honorary member of the orchestra.[49]

Bernstein was an avid Mahler interpreter all around the world, but especially in Vienna and New York. In the Spring of 1972, while he was rehearsing Mahler's *Fifth* with the VPO, he realized the orchestra was unfamiliar with the music and was prejudiced against Mahler. He was shocked that the home of Mahler was so resistant to his music.

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[47] Ibid:356.
[48] Michael Cooper, "Finally Returning Bernstein's Overdue Mahler," *The New York Times*, March 28, 2017
[49] "On the 80th Birthday of Leonard Bernstein," *Das Philharmonische Tagebuch* , April 23, 2002

After heated discussions in rehearsal, they were able to create the sound Mahler called for in the score. The concert was so successful that Bernstein did not even realize there was an earthquake during a very loud passage.[50] Bernstein recorded *Das Lied* only once more, this time with the Israel Philharmonic (IPO) (formerly the Palestine Symphony) as a part of a Mahler cycle recording with the Unitel Production Company, this time with Christa Ludwig and René Kollo.

On October 10, 1990, the New York Times announced Bernstein was retiring from performing due to poor health.[51] He had emphysema, which caused debilitating symptoms and tumors. At 6:15 pm on Sunday, October 14, Bernstein died. It took one month to hold the first memorial service for Bernstein's death, which was in Carnegie Hall, exactly 47 years after his debut there. In total, three services were held. A month later, the Majestic Theater held a memorial. Finally, on New Year's Eve, St. John Church held a third memorial service for Bernstein. He was celebrated as one of the greatest conductors of his generation.

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[50] Burton, *Leonard Bernstein:* 412.
[51] Allan Kozinn, "Bernstein Retires From Performing, Citing Poor Health," *The New York Times*, October 10, 1990

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF *DAS LIED VON DER ERDE*

SOURCES OF THE TEXTS AND THE INNER PROGRAM

For the text of *Das Lied von der Erde,* Mahler used a newly-published set of poems by Hans Bethge. *The Chinesische Flöte,* published in 1907,[52] is a collection of translations of Chinese poetry from different sources. The original poems were written by Li-Tai-Po, Tchang-Tsi, Mong-Kao-Jen, and Wang-Wei. However, Bethge did not use these original texts from the eighth century. His paraphrase poems were quoted and translated from three different sources: Hans Heilmann (published in 1905, in German),[53] Judith Gautier (published in 1867, in French),[54] and finally Le Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys (published in 1862, in French).[55] Heilmann, like Bethge, did not work from the original Chinese sources, but from French and English translations, and like Bethge, Heilmann's French sources were Hervey-Saint-Denys and Gautier.[56] While Hervey-Saint-Denys was a sinologist whose translations were scholarly, Gautier's translations were interpretational and free, similar to those of Bethge.

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[52] Hans Bethge, *Die chinesische Flöte: Nachdichtungen chinesischer Lyrik* (Liepzig, 1907).
[53] Hans Heilmann, *Chinesische Lyrik, vom 12. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 1905).
[54] 1905). Judith Gautier, *Le Livre de Jade: Poesies traduites du Chinois* (1st edn. Paris, 1867).
[55] Le Marquis d'Hervey-Saint-Denys, *Poesies de 1'4poque des Thang* (Paris,1862).
[56] Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler, Songs and Symphonies of Life and Death:* 435-439.

All writers subsequently changed the original texts while translating them from Chinese. However, in addition to these translations, Mahler had used *retuschen* (retouching) on Bethge's texts as well. He would remove and add texts, as well as change titles. In some movements Mahler was loyal to Bethge, while in other movements, especially *Der Abschied,* he used additional lines. *Die chinesische Flöte* included eighty-three poems, but Mahler used only eight of them. He chose the poems very selectively and only retouched them when it was necessary to the music or to the inner program. *Das Lied* has an underlying program of an irregularly placed four seasons.[57] Observing the titles of the second and fifth movements, "The Lonely Man in Autumn" and "The Drunken Man in Spring," one can analyze the inner story of the music, beginning in Winter.

In the first movement, Mahler's own contributions are limited but vital. Bethge titles Li-Tai-Po's poem as *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde* (Drinking Song of Earth's Sorrows). Mahler does not change this title. But, Hervey-Saint-Denys's version is titled *La Chanson du Chagrin* (The Song of Sorrow), and in the original poem of Li-Tai-Po's title read as Tales of Sorrowful Song.[58] In this movement, the name of the programmatic season is not mentioned, but Mahler adds one crucial line to Bethge's poem which underlines the longing for Spring, observed in the fourth Stanza of *das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde*:

> The sky is eternally blue, and the earth
> will long endure and blossom again in Spring.
> But you, O mortal, how long do you live?
> Not a hundred years may you enjoy
> all the decaying baubles of this earth!

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[57] Ibid:252.
[58] Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 4:* 1332-1334.

The second line does not appear in Bethge's poem; adding this line, Mahler clearly indicates that after a long time, Spring will return. This line not only helps Mahler establish the character of the first *Lied*, but also encourages the audience to long for Spring, which will appear in the fifth movement and at the very end of the last movement.

Mahler's title of the second movement is *Der Einsame im Herbst* (The Lonely Man in Autumn). Mahler made a crucial change in the title; Bethge's title for this poem reads The *Lonely Woman in Autumn*, instead of "Man." In 1908, Mahler sent a letter to Walter from Toblach, and at the end of his letter he mentioned working on *Das Lied von der Erde*. Towards the end of the letter, Mahler writes, "I think it is the most personal thing I have done so far."[59] Perhaps that is the reason for the gender change in this movement. Mahler wanted to tell this story from his perspective. Moreover, this title is the first suggestion of season changes; Mahler's protagonist is now in Autumn.

The third movement includes a problematic translation by Gautier. In the original text, Li-Tai-Po titles this poem as *A Party at Mr. Tao's Pavilion,* while the poem that Mahler borrowed from Bethge titles it as *Jade Pavilion*. Bethge was borrowing translations from Gautier's anthology. In her version, she titles this poem as *The Porcelain Pavilion*. Fusaka Hamao suggests that the reason for the title difference between Li-Tai-Po and Bethge/Gautier is a mistranslation:

> "In the title of Li-Tai-Po's poem, the first character means "a party" and the last two characters designate "a pavilion." The middle characters, though-the second and third-- present a problem. The second character depicts either "porcelain" or "Tao" (a person's name). The third character has several meanings including "a house" and "a family." Although the second character sometimes means

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[59] Mahler, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler:* no. 378.

> "porcelain," when it is used with the third character, it is customary to understand the two characters as "Tao's family," not "a porcelain house." (Every Chinese character denotes certain concrete and/or abstract meaning[s], and when several characters are used together, they often form a compound word that indicates a specific meaning.) In short, although the last four characters of the title are correctly translated as "the pavilion of Tao's family" or "Mr. Tao's pavilion," it is likely that Gautier misinterpreted the same characters as "the porcelain pavilion."[60]

It is very likely that Gautier misinterpreted the word while translating. On the other hand, it is known that Gautier's translations were done subjectively; therefore, this might as well be her own interpretation of the poem. In either case, Bethge took Gautier's translation as a reference, and Mahler used Bethge's version. From Mahler's perspective, the *Porcelain Pavilion* added more to *Das Lied'*s exoticism since Chinese porcelain symbolized Asian cultures. However, for the inner program's sake, Mahler changed the title to *Von der Jugend* (Of Youth), even though he kept Bethge's title in the piano score.[61]

The fourth *lied* includes a significant number of changes in the text. Mahler did not change the title that Bethge gave to the poem. Mahler's *Von der Schönheit* (Of Youth) is longer than Bethge's due to Mahler's visual and strophic additions to the poem. In order to keep the stanzas the same length, he used repetition. He added details to encourage a better understanding of Summer. In *Das Lied'*s inner program, one can follow Autumn turning into Summer in the third and fourth songs, even though the season is not specified in the poems.

In the fifth lied, Mahler brings Spring to the music. By changing the title from *Der Trinker im Früling* (Drunkard in Spring) to *Der Trunkene im Frühling* (Drunken Man in

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[60] Fusako Hamao, "The Sources of the Texts in Mahler's 'Lied von Der Erde,'" *19th-Century Music* 19, no. 1 (1995): 83–95.
[61] Grange, *Gustav Mahler: Volume 4:* 1342.

Spring), Mahler once again personalizes the music. According to La Grange, Mahler had been obsessed with the arrival of Spring since his youth, as observed in the libretto of his lost opera *Rübezahl,* or the second song of his *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen*. [62]

The last and the longest movement, *Der Abschied* (The Farewell), contains two poems in one lied initially by Mong-Haoran and Wang-Wei. The two poets were friends, and the second poem refers to the first. The poems are titled *In Erwartung der Freundes* (Awaiting the Friend) and *Der Abschied des Freundes* (The Farewell of the Friend). In this movement, Mahler changes many words and adds considerable lines of his own. The changes he makes in the first poem are to emphasize the eternal Springtime. In the second poem, Mahler changes an essential aspect of the text; instead of having the parting friends conversate in the first person, Mahler narrates the conversation. According to Peter Oswald, this new narration identifies with both characters.[63] The movement embodies two seasons by using two different poems. According to Mitchell, the first poem is set at the end of Summer. However, it does not resolve to Winter; instead, Mahler finishes the music in Springtime.[64]

FORMAL ANALYSIS OF DAS LIED VON DER ERDE

Das Lied von der Erde is titled as a symphony instead of a song cycle by Mahler. Despite his philosophical view of seeing symphonies as a "world" instead of a set of formal structures, Mahler designs this piece very similarly to a traditional symphonic form. While

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[62] Ibid:1356.
[63] Oswald, Peter. *Perspektiven des Neuen: Studien zum Spätwerk von Gustav Mahler*. na, 1982.
[64] Mitchell, *Gustav Mahler, Songs and Symphonies of Life and Death:*252.

the outer movements are less melodic and less song-like, the inner movements are more strophic and serve as interludes. The second movement is slow, and the third movement has a scherzando character. Although all movements have a solo singer, the piece is clearly designed in a symphonic form.

In the first movement, Mahler reduces Bethge's original four stanzas into two short stanzas and one long stanza. To do that, he removes the refrain "Dunkel ist das Leben, ist der Tod" from the third stanza. By doing that, Mahler creates a movement in sonata-allegro form with two expositions. The first strophe acts as the first exposition (mm. 1-96), the second strophe acts as the second exposition (mm. 97-202), and the last long strophe is divided into the development (mm. 203-330) and recapitulation (mm. 331-405). All end with the same refrain. Each refrain occurs a half step higher than the last: the first at mm. 81 is in G minor, the second at mm. 184 is in A-flat minor, and the last at mm. 384 is in A minor. In addition to the refraining sentence that signals the end of a section, Mahler uses a few other motives in order to create his symphonic world. As Hefling points out, Mahler uses pentatonic scales in anhemitonic (Chinese) and hemitonic (Japanese) forms in many motives and derivations during the movement. For example, the refraining phrase occurs in the Japanese *Hirajoshi* scale, while the A-G-E motive is in the Chinese *Yu* scale. This usage of pentatonic scales connotes Exoticism and Orientalism in the music[65]. Moreover, Mahler uses a great deal of word-painting. Sudden *crescendo* and *diminuendo* gestures reflect the sporadic nature of the *trinkeld* (drunk) protagonist. Heroic horns exemplify his drunken state. There are many Wagnerian moments in the music as well. For example, the

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[65] Stephen E. Hefling, *Song of the Earth* (Cambridge University Press, 2000): 86.

tenor starts singing at the last bar of a musical phrase (mm. 15). While this gesture can be another word-painting connoting drunkenness, it can be considered as a musical elision too, which is a common Wagnerian characteristic. Mahler uses this drunken *leitmotif* later in the fifth movement to recall the hero's first drunken state. Another highlight of the score is the refrain motif. This motif appears three times in the score. Mahler slurs the first half of the phrase during the first and second appearance of refrain. The phrase is "Dark is life, is death." "Dark is life" is slurred, and "is death" separated. During the last appearance of the refrain, the slur is removed entirely. There are two interpretations of this detail. Either Mahler is creating more word-painting, this time emphasizing every single word, or, he is using the rule of three, a very Wagnerian technique where a motive is repeated three times and the third appearance is altered in some way. Of course, both interpretations can function. Mahler designed this set of *lieder* in a symphonic form with three *lied*-like and strophic inner movements, and two outer movements of *sonata-allegro*. The beginning of the symphony is in 3/4 with the pulse felt in 1. The entire movement contains sudden major to minor mode changes, which creates a feeling of melancholy. These two compositional techniques combined construct a feeling of a poignant waltz (a drunk waltz), validating the program and the lyrics.

Der Einsame in Herbst (The Lonely One in Autumn) is the slow second movement of the symphony. The music starts with a D minor ostinato in the violins, which imitates waves in water, mirroring the mention of the lake in the text. In Bethge's text, the first line does not mention any water, but the word "water" is added by Mahler to emphasize the word-painting portrayed with the ostinato. While this movement calls for a female voice ("Die" to "Der"), the gender change indicated by Mahler suggests that the protagonist is

still the same character. Though, this time, he is feeling weary and furtive as the tempo marking suggests (*Etwas schleichend. Ermüdet.)*. Throughout the movement, Mahler recalls the basic cell from the first movement (D-C-A), only this time much more slowly and tenderly. Even though this movement is set mostly in a minor mode, as Hefling points out, Mahler avoids the note Bb in the key of D minor, causing it to sound like a Chinese heptatonic scale.[66] Mahler carefully word-paints almost every sentence, while also creating an exotic atmosphere. This movement's form is based on the four stanzas in Bethge's poem. According to Floros' analysis, each stanza contains one major and one minor section. However, each stanza is modified with new features. The last two lines of the fourth strophe ask a question: "Son of love, will you never shine again, to gently dry my bitter tears?" The postlude that comes right after finishes the music with a D minor ostinato that slowly fades away with *ritardando* and *morendo* indications. This answers the poem's question: the son of love does not shine.[67]

As mentioned above, Mahler used Bethge's versions of the poems. They were not necessarily translated directly. According to Floros, the "Porcelain Pavilion" mentioned in the third poem symbolizes culture, youth, beauty, and an elegant way of life.[68] Mahler structured the jubilant movement in an arch form. This movement, *Von der Jugend* (Of Youth), and the following movement are set in the Summertime and have many similarities. They are both mostly pentatonic, the structures are both based on the poem's

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[66] Ibid: 92.
[67] Floros, *Gustav Mahler: The Symphonies Paperback:* 254.
[68] Ibid:254.

stanzas, and their forms are both ternary. For this particular movement, Mahler groups the stanzas in a 2+3+2 form in Bb major.

The fourth *lied* is executed in three parts: the first two stanzas of the Bethge's poem are used as the first section, the following two stanzas function as a development section, and the last stanza is the recapitulation. In Li-Tai-Po's original poem, and in Bethge's translation, there are only four stanzas. But Mahler constructed an extra stanza in order to capture a loving mood and to create a ternary form. *Von der Schönheit* (Of Beauty), is a joyful movement about young women and men in nature. The pentatonic scale emphasizes the exoticism again. This is the first movement where timpani, trombones, and tuba can be heard. In the middle section of this movement, Mahler uses the full orchestra for the first time, even including a mandolin. The B section, particularly the second half, is about horses, and Mahler intentionally wrote an extremely challenging passage in the *bel canto* style. According to Hefling, the singer should be almost as breathless as the horse she is singing about in this passage.[69] The song ends with a recapitulation of the slightly varied A section followed by a postlude.

Just like the two Summer songs that came before, the third interlude is designed around Bethge's stanzas. This time, the season is Spring and the protagonist is drunk once again. He is drinking excessively to forget about life's hardships and, as a result, feels dissociative. There are six stanzas, and according to Floros, the first two stanzas of *Der Trunkene im Frülig* (The Drunkard in Spring) focus on the drunken condition of the hero. The following two stanzas describe the arrival of Spring, announced by a bird, and the final

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[69] Hefling, *Song of the Earth*:99.

two stanzas are about the drunkard not being able to awaken even with the joyful arrival of Spring. Mahler designs the form as A-B-A once again, ending with a postlude.

The last movement of *Das Lied,* is the longest and the most complicated of the symphony. Mahler uses two *lieder* for this movement, the first from Meng-Haoran and the second from Weng-Wei. Even though Mahler did not know the original Chinese poems, he understood that the second one referred to the first. This movement is in binary form with two halves of approximately equal length. Both halves start with an orchestral introduction followed by a recitative-like section. There are two distinct sections; the first poem closes with a transition to the second, while the second poem ends with a coda. The only difference between the two poems is the number of recitatives. In the first poem, in addition to the recitative in the beginning, Mahler writes another recitative after the B section. *Der Abschied* (The Farewell) is as long as the combination of all previous five movements, bearing so much temporal significance that it seems like everything before this movement was only in preparation.

CHAPTER 4: BRUNO WALTER RECORDINGS

Bruno Walter conducted the premiere of the *Das Lied von der Erde* in 1911, six months after Mahler's death. He was also the first conductor to record the piece in 1936. Although Walter has nine full and partial releases of this score, only two of these recordings were made in a studio. The first was recorded in 1952 in Vienna with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Walter's final recording was made in 1960 with the Columbia Symphony Orchestra. This analysis will be focusing on these two: *Das Lied*'s first recording in 1936 and Walter's last studio recording in 1960.

This analysis focuses on metronome markings and tempo changes, important moments in the work, and dynamics. Walter defined the performance traditions of the piece, since he made the first recording of this piece. Metronome markings are important in recording analysis, especially in Mahler pieces, due to the traditional use of rubato in their performance practice. Walter's tempo changes that are not included in the score are particularly important in his 1936 recording. Because this was the first recording, the unwritten tempo changes and use of rubato were duplicated in later recordings. In addition to a detailed tempo analysis, this section will focus on artistic decisions made by the conductor that highlight specific moments in the score.

BRUNO WALTER'S 1936 RECORDING WITH THE VIENNA PHILHARMONIC ORCHESTRA (NAXOS 8.110850)

Bruno Walter's 1936 release was recorded during a live concert with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra at Vienna's Musikverein Concert Hall with the alto soloist Kerstin Thorborg and tenor soloist Charles Kullman. The VPO, soloists and Bruno Walter gave the performance on May 24, 1936 in the Großer Musikvereinssaal and then it was produced by Fred Gaisberg.

DAS TRINKLIED VOM JAMMER DER ERDE

The beginning of *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde* calls for a *Allegro pesante* with an additional note of *Ganze Takte, nicht schnell* (whole bars, not fast). This movement is a fast 3/4 and it is the conductor's decision whether to beat through the measures or to conduct the movement in one. If we consider *Allegro* as at least ♩=120, this movement should be either a little less than ♩=120 (𝅗𝅥=40) per beat or less than 𝅗𝅥.=120 (♩=360) per measure. Bruno Walter starts the piece with a metronome marking of ♩=170 (𝅗𝅥.=56). Unfortunately, there is not enough written information about the tempi of this piece by Mahler, and there are no metronome markings indicated in the score. Before *Das Lied von der Erde,* Walter learned about Mahler's music from the composer himself.[70] Mahler introduced all of his works to Walter, except *Das Lied von der Erde,* by playing or conducting them himself. According to Alma Mahler-Werfel, Mahler played bits of the piece almost every day to her for two years and she knew it by memory before it was

[70] Walter, *Gustav Mahler*: 59.

premiered. But, there are no recorded discussions of tempi in this work between Walter and Mahler-Werfel and according to Hefling, the editor of the first edition is unknown.[71]

The beginning of the piece is not the only moment in the first movement Walter took freedom. At rehearsal 6, Mahler indicates *Etwas gehaltaner* (somewhat more sustained). Walter reduces the tempo to ♩=158, and eight measures later, at rehearsal 7, the tempo is indicated as *sempre l'istesso* (always same tempo), but Walter instead increases the tempo by about 20 BPM. This is justifiable since the new section has a different character. Walter did not follow Mahler's *l'istesso tempo* marking and took liberties with tempi throughout the piece. The table below (Table 4.1) shows all tempo changes in the first movement of the 1936 recording. The asterisks represent the tempo changes that are not marked by Mahler in the score, and "R" is the abbreviation for rehearsal numbers. These abbreviations will be used in all tables throughout the document.

One very important moment in this movement is the phrase that repeats three times: "Dunkel ist das leben, ist der Tod" ("Dark is life, is death"). Mahler uses this line at the end of the first and second exposition as well as at the end of the *lied*. These refrains are salient musical moments that highlight the programmatic background of the piece. The first time Mahler indicates *sehr getragen (very solemn),* but this instruction is not repeated for the second and third repetitions. One may assume that each time the voice will have the same character since the text is about sorrow, but this is a decision left to the conductor and tenor soloist. Additionally, while first and last refrain have *ritardando* markings in the

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[71] Hefling, *Song of the Earth:* 51.

last two measures, the second refrain does not have this indication. Mahler writes a slur over the first six measures ("Dark is life"), while the last three do not include a slur (is death). Mahler emphasizes the darkness of death by creating a different color through changing articulations. At the end of the refrains there are ascending *glissandi* and fast ascending scales in different sections of the orchestra that create a bridge between a very dark passage to the uplifting beginning motif. In the first refrain (mm. 88-89), there is a *glissando* in the first harp followed by an ascending scale in the flutes. In the second refrain (mm. 191), the second violins and violas play a *glissando*. In the last refrain (mm. 321), while second violins make an ascending scale, both harps add to the color with ascending *glissandi*.

In Walter's interpretation of the 1936 VPO concert, all refrains sound *sehr getragen*, even though only the first refrain is marked as such. Additionally, all refrains are slurred through the entire sentence, even though only the first half of the phrase is slurred in the score. In other words, in the recording, there is no space between the words in the phrase "ist der Tod," even though they are clearly separated by Mahler. Another important change in the recording is Walter's removal of *glissandi* at the end of the second refrain in the second violins and violas. This was probably for practical reasons; after the second refrain, the music stays quiet as opposed to two other refrains. The *glissandi* in second violins and violas need to either shift to a very high position on a lower string or change strings during a *ppp* passage. Perhaps, Walter did not think that the notes were sufficiently controlled. Lastly, in Walter's interpretation, there is a *ritardando* at the end of all refrains as opposed to only the first and the last one. While the middle refrain does not indicate a written *ritardando*, Walter chooses to add it.

Table 4.1 *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde*, recorded by Walter in 1936

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter
Beginning *Allegro pesante*	♩=170
R.6 *Etwas gehalgener*	♩=158
R.7 *Sempre l'istesso tempo*	♩=176*
R.10 *zurückhalten. Ruhig.*	♩=146
R.11 (refrain) *sehr ruhig*	♩=126
R.12 *tempo I. subito.* (second exposition)	♩=182
R.16 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=162*
R.17	♩=176*
R.18	♩=162*
R.20	♩=178*
R.22	♩=162*
R.23 *a tempo, sehr ruhig*	♩=158
(8)-R.24 *(a tempo, sehr ruhig*)(refrain)	♩=120*
R.24	♩=136*
R.25 *a tempo* (after a rit.) (development)	♩=146
R.26	♩=146
R.37	♩=170*
R.39 (recapitulation)	♩=180
(3)-R.41	♩=196*
R.45 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=165*
R.47 *a tempo zeit lassen.* (refrain)	♩=136
R.48	♩=174

DER EINSAME IM HERBST

In the second movement of the 1936 recording, Walter takes fewer liberties with tempi. The score indicates the character of the movement, but does not indicate the precise tempo. Walter opens the movement with an approximate tempo of 𝅗𝅥=60, with a moderate amount of rubato. The score calls for many tempo changes, and, while Walter follows the tempo markings, he does not exaggerate them. For example, after the opening the Alto's entrance is marked *Etwas zurückhaltend* and is only 8 BPM slower. The *Fließend* passage which comes right after is only 6 BPM faster than the previous passage. Walter does, however, take liberties in a couple of sections. Rehearsal number 10, for example, is not

marked with any tempo changes, but it is the ending of the second strophe, so Walter gets faster (up to 𝅗𝅥=60) and arrives back to 𝅗𝅥=52 in the beginning of the third strophe (R.11).

This movement contains many artistic decisions executed by nuanced rubato in nearly every phrase of the text. Walter follows Kerstin Thorborg's interpretation very closely and leads the orchestra with her meticulous use of rubato, but the most important characteristic decision made by Walter is in the beginning. The first violins are marked *mit Dämpfer* (with mute). Walter follows this indication, but he also has them play *sul tasto* which creates the furtive and weary feeling that Mahler asks for in his instruction, *Etwas schleichend. Ermüdet*. He repeats this character any time the violin motif returns (mm. 39, R.8, R.15, R.20). When the text mentions the hero's sleepiness, Walter adds a gradual *ritardando* at R.12 until R.13, when he pushes the tempo back to 𝅗𝅥=60.

Table 4.2 *Der Einsame im Herbst*, recorded by Walter in 1936

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter
Beginning	𝅗𝅥=60
mm 25 *etwas zurückhaltend*	𝅗𝅥=52
(2)- R.5 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=58
mm. 39 Tempo I *subito (etwas scgleppend)*	𝅗𝅥=52
(3)-R.9 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=56
R.9 Tempo I *subito (zögerund)*	𝅗𝅥=54
R.10	𝅗𝅥=60*
R.11 Tempo I	𝅗𝅥=52
R.13	𝅗𝅥=60*
R.15 Tempo I	𝅗𝅥=64
R.17-19 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=62-70
R.19 Tempo I *subito*	𝅗𝅥=42
(1)-R.20*	𝅗𝅥=52

VON DER JUGEND

The tempi in this movement are steady, and Mahler's only character indication in the beginning is *Behaglich heiter* (pleasantly elated*)*. Walter only uses two different tempo markings. In the beginning, the cut time meter is marked as 𝅗𝅥=90. This tempo continues until the fifth stanza, which is the last third of the middle section. At the end of this middle section, Mahler calls for a *Ruhiger* (calmer) tempo, which Walter executes around h=68 (with rubato). Between R.11 and R.14, Mahler calls for eight tempo changes starting with *Langsam*. Walter takes this section in a similar tempo of 𝅗𝅥=66 with only gradual changes. Starting on R.14, Mahler calls for *Tempo I subito* which Walter takes at 𝅗𝅥=90, just like the beginning.

VON DER SCHÖNHEIT

This movement is quite challenging in terms of executing the indicated tempo changes while keeping the singer and the orchestra together. Mahler marks 13 different tempo changes, excluding the small *ritardandi* in almost every section. After the start of the fourth strophe, the tempo gets extremely fast, which matches the text of the poem. But, in addition to Mahler's indications, Walter makes many more changes to the tempo in order to highlight the important passages of the score. These additions are important as these changes were established as performance traditions.

As the first conductor who premiered and recorded this piece, Walter had to make many decisions about interpreting the music since Mahler never had the opportunity to hear his composition. The fourth movement has many opportunities for interpretational decisions. The text is about young maidens and lads in the beginning, about the lads' horses

in the middle, and about the maidens' feelings at the end. Mahler writes many indications to portray this character and mood, but it seems these indications were not enough for Walter, who added even more changes in tempo in order to make the movement's story project.

The movement starts with "*Commodo. Dolcissimo*." (with motion, very tender) with no other metronome marking. Walter starts with ♩=70, which is close to an *Andante* tempo. In the recapitulation of the movement (R.16), Mahler marks *Tempo I subito (andante)*. This indication suggests that even though the beginning of the movement was not marked *andante,* Mahler was thinking of the beginning in *andante* tempo. However, Walter never repeats the introductory tempo despite the repeated introduction motif (two measures before R.4, R.5, R.7, R.16, R.17).

Several bars after the introduction, at R.1, the score indicates a *ritardando* followed by an *a tempo* and *etwas Fließend* later. According to the markings in the first eight measures, one should start in a "walking pace," slow down at measure six (*ritardando)*, pick up the tempo at measure seven (*a tempo*), and move forward (*etwas fließend*) in measure eight. Walter executes these markings as written in the beginning. The recapitulation starts at R.16 where Mahler calls for *Tempo I. subito. (andante)*. This time, Mahler does not call for a faster tempo after the introduction, but Walter takes the fifth strophe faster. This gesture is justified formally since the same section was indicated faster in the exposition. Mahler might have forgotten to put the tempo indication in the score.

By measure 14 (one measure after R.2), Mahler marks *Ruhiger* (more peaceful) in the score, which Walter takes at ♩=68 right after a *ritardando*. Gradually reaching the next

tempo appears to be a common practice of Walter unless a *subito* indication appears in the score.

Walter's starts taking more liberties with tempi beginning at measure 22, where he pushes the tempo slightly to ♩=80. Mahler repeats the introductory theme for two measures and moves to motif A, marked *Fließend* in the beginning, which Walter takes at ♩=80. This time, Mahler does not mark any tempo change even though it is the same motif as in the beginning. Walter takes the introduction and the motif A in the same tempo instead of a slower introductory motif.

From this moment to three measures after R.7, all tempo changes follow the score's indications, but three measures after R.7 is marked *Allmählich belebend* (*gradually livelier*) by Mahler. Instead of a gradual increase in tempo, Walter suddenly takes a new tempo of ♩=94 and speeds up to ♩=98 until the new tempo marking four measures after R.8. In this measure, Mahler calls for *piu mosso subito (marschmässig)* (suddenly faster and march-like). Walter observes the "suddenly faster" indication, but then gradually speeds up, following the *allmählich belebend* indication earlier. From R.10 onwards Walter continues to speed up, especially during the developmental interlude. Then, at the Alto's entrance, the recording slows down, possibly due to the practical challenges of singing. At R.14, Walter slows from approximately ♩=150 to ♩=140. With the *immer fließend* (always flowing) and *immer noch drägender* (always still more pressing) the tempo goes only as high as ♩=148. It is in these strophes that the poem mentions racing horses, so the singer should be as out of breath as the horse about which she sings. This is a difficult passage to

sing in a fast tempo, but Walter still manages to capture this character while staying within the capabilities of the singer.

R.16 calls for *tempo I subito (andante)* and, in order to arrive here, Walter slows down a measure before instead of conducting an abrupt tempo change. He takes the introduction motif at ♩=66 and speeds up to ♩=80 for the motif a three bars later.

Between R.17 and R.19, Walter and Thorborg execute unwritten *rubati* before the dotted quarter motifs begin. This section ends with Mahler's *ganz ruhig (utterly peaceful)* marking. Walter slows down to ♩=66 until eight measures before the end. In this last eight measures, Mahler creates an orchestral *ritardando* and orchestral *morendo* (*morendo* is typed in only in the last two measures), but Walter uses this opportunity to emphasize this creative moment with adding a *ritardando* in the tempo as well.

Table 4.3 *Von der Schönheit*, recorded by Walter in 1936

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter
Beginning *Comodo. Dolcissimo.*	♩=70
R.1+(2) *etwas fließend*	♩=80
R.2+(1) *Ruhiger*	♩=68
R.3+(3)	♩=80*
R.4	♩=80*
R.5 *A tempo I (ruhiger)*	♩=88
R.7+(3) *Allmälich belebend*	♩=94* (takes it *subito* instead)
R.8	♩=98*
R.8+(4) *Piu mosso subito (marchmäßig)*	♩=120
R.9	♩=130* (added gradual *accelerando*)
R.10 *Noch etwas flotter*	♩=130
R.10+(5) *Immer fließender*	♩=144

R.12 *Allegro*	♩=150
(1)-R.14 *Immer fließender*	♩=140* (slows down despite the indication)
R.15+(1) *Immer noch drägender*	♩=148
(1)-R.16	Added *ritardando* *

R.16 *Tempo I subito (Andante)*	♩=60
R.16+(3)	♩=80* (this time *etwas fließend* not indicated)
R.17+(3)-R.19	♩=70 with *rubati* *
R.19 *Ganz ruhig*	♩=66
R.22 until end	*Ritardando* *

DER TRUNKENE IM FRÜLING

This is the only movement that begins with a written tempo indication instead of character suggestions. Mahler ultimately suggests only two main tempi, excluding passages that are somewhat dragging or livelier. The movement starts *Allegro,* and this tempo repeats predictably after marked *rubato*. There are only two indications of *Langsam (slow)* and *Ganz Langsam (utterly slow)* during the third (mm. 40) and fourth stanzas (mm. 57).

Walter is diligent about observing Mahler's indications. Considering Mahler himself was not present to mentor him on interpretation, Walter had to make decisions based on his pre-existing knowledge of his mentor's music. In this ternary *lied*, there are two motivic themes: the introduction theme (A) that repeats as *ritornello* and the orchestral interlude theme (B) that also repeats with developed recurrences. Both motifs occur many times. In the beginning, and in general, the motif A is marked *Allegro*. The first time the B

motif occurs, there are no indicated tempo changes in the score. During the third and fourth stanzas, Mahler marks orchestral interlude motif (B) as *langsam* (mm. 40). The motif B is marked one more time at mm. 57 during the fourth stanza as *ganz langsam*. Walter uses these indications to identify the differences between two motifs. Whenever the motif B occurs, it is rather slower than the motif A, as in traditional first and second themes of an exposition.

Table 4.4 *Der Trunkene im Früling*, recorded by Walter in 1936

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter
Beginning *Allegro Keck, aber nicht zu schnell*	♩=120
R.1	♩=96*
R.2 *a tempo*	♩=120
R.3+(3)	♩=100*
(2)-R.5 *A tempo*	♩=120
R.5	Unwritten *ritardando* until R.6 ♩=98 to 72*
R.6 *Zurückhalten*	♩=72
R.6+(4) *Langsam*	♩=60
R.7 *Tempo I subito*	♩=114
R.8+(3)	♩=76*
R.9+(1) *Ganz langsam*	♩=60
(3)-R.10 *Etwas fließender*	♩=98
R.10 *Tempo I Subito*	♩=108
R.11+(3) *A tempo*	♩=128
R.12	♩=120*
R.14 *Allegro*	♩=124

DER ABSCHIED

This movement is the most complex of the symphony. In addition to the complicated form, length, and many tempo suggestions, it requires many decisions to be made by the conductor to keep the orchestra together. As Mahler said to Walter, he himself

did not know how to conduct this piece.[72] Even though Mahler shared his opinion the movement's difficulty, his indications in the score are very detailed for this movement while leaving ample room for interpretation. Although Walter's approach to tempi in this movement was relatively uncomplicated thanks to Mahler's indications, he carefully highlights the important passages throughout the movement. It is almost impossible to write about tempi without including these passages.

The orchestral introduction starts at an approximate tempo of ♩=60. The mood Walter sets in this opening is, as Mahler indicated, serious in tone. He remains in this tempo until R.2, where the first flute and the first oboe are marked *veloce*. Walter briefly increases the tempo and arrives at around ♩=60 for R.3, which is a recitative-like passage. This section is marked *Im Takt* (in tempo), but the recitative does not include a time signature. Walter decides to keep the quarter note steady in each measure, giving the oboe and flute a steady tempo for their duet. After the recitative, Mahler writes the first *melodic* section in the Alto part which is marked as section A in the analysis above. Before this section, all sung melodies supported the textures in the orchestra. It is marked as *Tempo I* and Walter does not change the tempo again until two measures before R.6.

Mahler tends to suggest tempi with indications such as "a little faster" or "moving" with no numeric tempo markings. Whenever this happens, Walter changes the tempo about 10-12 BPM. For example, in the A section, during the *poco accelerando* indication in R.5, Walter moves from ♩=60 to ♩=72 and takes the following section at ♩=72. He does not take

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[72] Walter, *Gustav Mahler:* 58.

the *a tempo* at the A section's main tempo, which was ♩=60. Instead, he arrives at a faster tempo after the *accelerando*, which is justified since Mahler did not call for *Tempo I*.

The A and B sections remain around ♩=60, only becoming "a little faster" or "a little slower" through gradual changes. Almost no tempo is taken *subito* up until this moment. The second recitative (R.22), like the first, is again taken around ♩=60. It seems that the introduction to the C section (R.23) is a moment where Mahler was worried about how to conduct. Here the tempo is marked *Fließend (flowing)* in a 3/4 time signature, but Mahler's mandolin and harp writing indicates that the feeling is in 6/8. Here, the conductor may have decided to beat in three or two. The reason Mahler wrote the passage in three instead of two is likely due to his later indication. Seven bars later, at R.24, Mahler indicates *Allmächlich zu ganzen Takten übergehend (gradually to whole bar progression)*. This suggests that the conductor should start beating in one instead of three while moving forward. In addition to this forward-motion, Mahler writes a very rhythmically challenging melodic line for the first violins. This passage includes 3:2, 3:4, and 3:5 with a continuous hemiola feeling. Walter takes this notation as an indication of free writing and conducts *rubati* in almost every other measure until R.27. The passage starts with 𝅗𝅥.=36 (beat per bar) and speeds up until around 𝅗𝅥.=50. Walter finally arrives back to 𝅗𝅥.=36 after a subtle *ritardando*.

Another problematic passage occurs at R.30 where Mahler writes hemiolas in two different time signatures. This is the interlude between stanzas of the C segment. The mandolin is in one, the second violins are in three, harps are subdivided into nine, and the

violas' time signature is 2/2. The conductor must decide to beat in one or three. Walter's tempo in R.30 is 𝅗𝅥.=46 or ♩=136.

The second lied (R.38) starts with ♩=60 in common time, just like the first one, but this time the introductory theme is developed. During the development Walter remains around ♩=60, and, even when the texture thickens, he keeps a constant tempo. Starting at R.42, Mahler writes many dynamic changes with quick *crescendi* and *diminuendi* followed by *subito forte* or *subito piano* dynamics paired with several *tenuto* markings. Walter interprets this writing as a chance to create *rubati*, especially before *subito piano* passages. The climax of the development occurs five bars after R.46. Two measures before the climax, Mahler calls for a *diminuendo* for the orchestra while calling for a *crescendo* from the bass clarinet and bassoons. Walter applies the *diminuendo* to the entire orchestra along with the *ritardando,* creating a powerful and solemn climax. Walter calls for *glissandi* to carry this feeling to the strings. This idea is supported by Mahler's indication of *G-Saite (play on the G string)* in the 1st violin part. This somber and dark development section is filled with sighing gestures, and Walter highlights them well.

Before the last recitative, Walter repeats the sighing gesture at R.47 until the start of the recitative and adds a gradual *ritardando*. Five bars after R.47, Walter suddenly speeds up the motif in the woodwinds, reminiscent of the earlier faster tempo. This moment is definitely one of Walter's more unique decisions. These gestures, which reference earlier passages, can be found in earlier Mahler scores (i.e. *Symphony No.1*), which clearly influenced Walter's decisions based on his pre-existing knowledge of Mahler's writing

The last recitative has more liberty and *rubato* compared to the first two, perhaps because this time there is no flute. Like the first *lied*, the A and B sections are around ♩=60. The 3/4 passage in the C section is taken at 𝅗𝅥.=36, again like the first *lied*. Starting in the Coda (R.64), Walter gradually slows down until the end. This gradual change is marked at four measures after R.68 as *Ritenuto bis zum Schluß*. Walter's decision to start the *ritardando* earlier supports the timelessness idea. The last five measures are marked *pianissimo* and *pianississimo*. Here, Walter respects the score's indications, keeping the dynamic level in each section in coherence.

As the first ever recording of this piece, each of Walter's decisions carry immense importance since future performers can be inspired by his interpretations. Releasing the first recording of a musical work creates expectations for audiences. Walter invented a tradition with this album's release. *The Gramophone* reviewed this recording as a reference recording of *Das Lied von der Erde* interpretations.[73]

Table 4.5 *Der Abschied*, recorded by Walter in 1936

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter
Beginning *Schwer*	♩=60
R.2 *Veloce in Fl and Ob*	*veloce*
R.3 (recitative no.1)	♩=~60
R.4 *Tempo I* (intro to A)	♩=60
R.5+(5) *Poco accel.*	*accel.*

[73] Alan Blyth, "Review: Mahler Das Lied von Der Erde," *Gramophone*, accessed September 21, 2020, https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/mahler-das-lied-von-der-erde-13.

(2)-R.6 a tempo	♩=72
R.7 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=50
R.22 (recitative no.2)	♩=~60
R.23 *Fließend* (intro to C)	𝅗𝅥.=34 ♩.=68 ♩=102
R.24 *(Allmächlich zu ganzen Takten übergehend.)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.26	Moves forward around 𝅗𝅥.=50
R.27 *(sehr ruhige ganze takte)* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.30 *A tempo, sehr flißend* (interlude)	𝅗𝅥.=46 ♩.=92 ♩=136
R.31 *Wieder sehr ruhig (3/4)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.36 *Mäßig* (Postlude-transition)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)

R.38 *Schwer* (Second Lied)	♩=68
R.41 *(a tempo. Subito)*	♩=60
R.46	Gets heavier ♩=~50
R.46+(5)	♩=50
R.47	Added *rit.*
R.47+(5)	Added *a tempo*
R.48+(3) *(Nicht eilen.)* (recitative no.3)	♩=~54
R.49 *A tempo* (intro to A)	♩=66
R.55 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=60
R.58 *Langsam* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.64 (coda)	𝅗𝅥.=40 ♩.=80 ♩=120 Added *rit.**
R.68+(4) *Rit. bis zum Schluß*	*Rit.* has been happening

BRUNO WALTER'S 1960 RECORDING WITH THE COLUMBIA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA (CBS/SONY-35DC 115)

Walter made his last recording of *Das Lied von der Erde* on April 18, 1960. The Columbia Symphony Orchestra rehearsed and recorded the piece at the Manhattan Center in New York City. During the week of this recording, Walter was conducting the same music for the New York Philharmonic's Mahler Festival, but he used different soloists for the concert. For the NYP, Maureen Forrester sang the alto part and Richard Lewis sang the Tenor. For the CSO, Midlred Miller and Ernst Häfliger were selected as soloists. CSO was a project-based, pick-up orchestra, therefore producer John McClure hired many musicians from the NYP who were already playing the piece that week. The album was released as the Columbia Symphony Orchestra.

DAS TRINKLIED VOM JAMMER DER ERDE

Walter's tempi became slower and steadier over the years. In 1936, he conducted around 20 BPM faster in each section, and also had more tempo fluctuation. Most of the liberties he took between sections were normalized in the later recording. Additionally, *rubati* are used less frequently as well. That being said, just like in the 1936 recording, Walter changes the tempo at the development section and the recapitulation. Walter's decision to change tempi is justified by the score's indications. Overall, this movement, compared to the first recording, is more conservative, steady, and controlled, but in terms of his artistic decisions ideas remain the same. Almost 30 years after *Das Lied*'s first recording, Walter chooses a slower tempo while establishing a more steady pace, and he brings out his refrain tempo once again. During each refrain the tempo slows down to ♩=116-126 from an overall ♩=150. This emphasizes the importance of the refrain, just like

in the earlier recording. Also like the 1936 recording, Walter slurs the entire sentence instead of only the first half.

Table 4.6 *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde*, recorded by Walter in 1960

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960
Beginning *Allegro pesante*	♩=170	♩=150
R.6 *Etwas gehalgener*	♩=158	♩=140
R.7 *Sempre l'istesso tempo*	♩=176*	♩=146*
R.10 *zurückhalten. Ruhig.*	♩=146	♩=132
R.11 (refrain) *sehr ruhig*	♩=126	♩=126
R.12 *tempo I. subito.* (second exposition)	♩=182	♩=150
R.16 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=162*	Not necessarily slower except the rubato before R.17
R.17	♩=176*	♩=150
R.18	♩=162*	♩=150
R.20	♩=178*	♩=150
R.22	♩=162*	♩=136*
R.23 *a tempo, sehr ruhig*	♩=158	♩=128
8-R.24 *(a tempo, sehr ruhig*)(refrain)	♩=120*	♩=114*
R.24	♩=136*	♩=114*
R.25 *a tempo* (after a rit.) (development)	♩=146	♩=146
R.26	♩=146	♩=136*
R.37	♩=170*	♩=156
R.39 (recapitulation)	♩=180	♩=156
(3)-R.41	♩=196*	♩=156
R.45 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=165*	♩=126
R.47 *a tempo zeit lassen.* (refrain)	♩=136	♩=116
R.48	♩=174	♩=150

DER EINSAME IM HERBST

The 1960 recording of the *Der Einsame im Herbst* is slower than the 1936 concert. The interpretations between the two recordings are very similar in terms of dynamics, string technique, and *rubato*. The dynamic climax between R.18 and R.19 is not exaggerated. Walter pushes the tempo a bit faster, but not more than 6 BPM. The first violins are both muted and *sul tasto*. In both recordings, Walter tends to slow down whenever the alto starts singing a new strophe.

Table 4.7 *Der Einsame im Herbst*, recorded by Walter in 1960

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960
Beginning	𝅗𝅥=60	𝅗𝅥=50
mm. 25 *etwas zurückhaltend*	𝅗𝅥=52	𝅗𝅥=44
(2)- R.5 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=58	𝅗𝅥=48
mm. 39 Tempo I *subito (etwas scgleppend)*	𝅗𝅥=52	𝅗𝅥=44
(3)-R.9 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=56	𝅗𝅥=48
R.9 Tempo I *subito (zögerund)*	𝅗𝅥=54	𝅗𝅥=44
R.10	𝅗𝅥=60*	𝅗𝅥=48*
R.11 Tempo I	𝅗𝅥=52	𝅗𝅥=44
R.13	𝅗𝅥=60*	𝅗𝅥=44*
R.15 Tempo I	𝅗𝅥=64	𝅗𝅥=50
R.17-19 *Fließend*	𝅗𝅥=62-70	𝅗𝅥=50-56
R.19 Tempo I *subito*	𝅗𝅥=42	𝅗𝅥=42
(1)-R.20*	𝅗𝅥=52	𝅗𝅥=48*

VON DER JUGEND

Walter's 1960 recording is not very different from the earlier one in this movement. The first tempo is about 4 BPM slower. The second *ruhiger* (more peaceful) tempo does not slow down as much (R.10). The difference between Tempo I and *ruhiger* in the 1936 performance was 28 BPM (𝅗𝅥=90 to 𝅗𝅥=68). This time, Walter only slows down about 14 BPM to 𝅗𝅥=72. Also, Walter slows down at two measures before R.10, instead of taking the *ruhiger* indication suddenly.

Just like the first two movements, Walter's control over the orchestra is more refined. For example, not only the tempo is more steady, the timbre of the instruments are more natural and less noisy. The *saltando* indication at R.2 sounds repressed compared to the first recording. There could be a few reasons for this change. Perhaps Walter wanted a more controlled and unified sound for the orchestra, or maybe the *saltando* character in the 1936 recording is unique to the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra. Alternatively, the live recording in 1936 might have better captured the "noise" of the bow.

VON DER SCHÖNHEIT

Walter introduced many new ideas in the 1960 interpretation of *Das Lied*. Walter highlights many passages that are not specifically nuanced on the score, especially in *Von der Scönheit*. Walter added many interpretational tempo changes that could be justified by formal analysis in the 1936 concert. For example, the first phrase after the introduction (two measures after R.1) is marked *etwas fließender* in the score. The same motif comes back three measures after R.16, but this time there is no tempo indication. In the1936 recording, Walter decided to apply the same tempo indication and gets faster since they are

similar musical moments. However, in 1960, Walter follows the score strictly and maintains a steady tempo.

During the developmental interlude (R. 14), Mahler calls for the orchestra to move forward gradually. At R.14, the fourth strophe starts and the Alto begins singing after a break. In the 1936 recording, this section suddenly takes a new, slower tempo. Walter's 1960 recording, however, is more controlled in terms of *accelerando* in the development. He does not slow down for the alto and keeps getting faster as indicated.

Table 4.8 *Von der Schönheit*, recorded by Walter in 1960

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960
Beginning *Comodo. Dolcissimo.*	♩=70	♩=60
R.1+(2) *etwas fließend*	♩=80	♩=78
R.2+(1) *Ruhiger*	♩=68	♩=64
R.3+(3)	♩=80*	♩=76*
R.4	♩=80*	♩=76
R.5 *A tempo I (ruhiger)*	♩=88	♩=76
R.7+(3) *Allmälich belebend*	♩=94* (takes it *subito* instead)	♩=86* (still *subito*, but not as radical)
R.8	♩=98*	♩=88
R.8+(4) *Piu mosso subito (marchmäßig)*	♩=120	♩=106
R.9	♩=130* (added gradual *accel.*)	♩=116* (added gradual *accel.*)
R.10 *Noch etwas flotter*	♩=130	♩=124
R.10+(5) *Immer fließender*	♩=144	♩=128
R.12 *Allegro*	♩=150	♩=128

(1)-R.14 *Immer fließender*	♩=140* (slows down despite the indication)	♩=134* (corrects the interpretation)
R.15+(1) *Immer noch drägender*	♩=148	♩=134
(1)-R.16	Added *ritardando* *	No rit.*
R.16 *Tempo I subito (Andante)*	♩=60	♩=76

R.16+(3)	♩=80* (this time *etwas Fließend* not indicated)	♩=76 (corrects the interpretation)
R.17+(3)-R.19	♩=70 with *rubati* *	♩=70
R.19 *Ganz ruhig*	♩=66	♩=60
R.22 until end	*Rit*. *	*Rit*.*

DER TRUNKENE IM FRÜHLING

Even though Walter gave up many interpretational tempo changes for the later recording, he maintained his previous choices for this movement. Compared to the 1936 performance, this movement is slower and more steady, just like in the previous movements. But, he did not alter his idea of having motif B slower than A. Any time the motif B is heard, Walter slows down, though the changes between tempi are not as radical as the 1936.

One difference between the 1936 and the 1960 recordings is at R.5. In the 1936 performance, Walter gives the solo violin some freedom and allows the soloist to slow down. This results in *noch ruhiger* (2 measures before R.6) beginning earlier than is

indicated in the score. In 1960, however, Walter keeps the tempo steady and does not let the soloist control the tempo.

Table 4.9 *Der Trunkene im Früling*, recorded by Walter in 1960

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960
Beginning *Allegro Keck, aber nicht zu schnell*	♩=120	♩=96
R.1	♩=96*	♩=90*
R.2 *a tempo*	♩=120	♩=96
R.3+(3)	♩=100*	♩=90*
(2)-R.5 *A tempo*	♩=120	♩=96
R.5	Unwritten *ritardando* until R.6 ♩=98 to 72*	No rit.
R.6 *Zurückhalten*	♩=72	*Ritardando* starts
R.6+(4) *Langsam*	♩=60	♩=70
R.7 *Tempo I subito*	♩=114	♩=96
R.8+(3)	♩=76*	♩=80*
R.9+(1) *Ganz langsam*	♩=60	♩=60
(3)-R.10 *Etwas fließender*	♩=98	♩=92
R.10 *Tempo I Subito*	♩=108	♩=90* (slower than Tempo I)
R.11+(3) *A tempo*	♩=128	♩=108
R.12	♩=120*	♩=108
R.14 *Allegro*	♩=124	♩=108

DER ABSCHIED

This movement is the most loyal to the score in terms of tempi and interpretation. Walter changed very little between the 1936 and 1960 recording of *Der Abschied*. This could be because the movement has a heavily marked score with tempo changes and therefore little room for interpretational choices. Walter recognized this detailed instructions and used them as an opportunity to express his creativity. Once the artistic decisions were established, he did not change them.

In this recording, all three sections are in the same tempo as the 1936 recording. The movement starts at ♩=60, and the first section's tempo stays the same. Section B is in cut time and both recordings have the same overall tempo of 𝅗𝅥=50. Finally, section C is in 3/4 and is performed at ♩=108. Even when Walter takes the tempi slightly faster or slower than the 1936 recording, he arrives at the older recording's tempo eventually. There are differences, of course, but they are executed to control the orchestra instead of for interpretational purposes. For example, at R.2, Mahler calls for *veloce* in first oboe and first flute. While this was applied in the 1936 performance, Walter decides to remove it from the 1960 interpretation.

While Walter did change his interpretation in the earlier movements, this recording stays more true to the score than the first recording. Another example is when Walter corrects his tempo at the A section in the first *lied*. Five measures after R.5, Mahler calls for *poco accelerando* arriving to *a tempo*. As mentioned above, in the 1936 recording Walter accelerates from ♩=60 to ♩=72 and takes the *a tempo* section in ♩=72 instead of going

back to the A section's main tempo. In the 1960 recording, Walter corrects himself and takes the *a tempo* at ♩=60 and performs the *poco accelerando* very subtly.

There are 28 years between Walter's first and last recordings of the *Das Lied von der Erde*. Before the first recording, he already had 25 years of conducting experience with this symphony. As the first conductor to perform this work, Walter had an important role in establishing the performance practice. But, between the first and last recordings, there were many tempo changes. Walter became steadier in every movement, tempo relations between passages were evened out, and interpretational choices were altered. However, Walter made most of his interpretational decisions in order to emphasize salient moments in the score.

Table 4.10 *Der Abschied*, recorded by Walter in 1960

Indicated Tempo Markings	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1936	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1960
Beginning *Schwer*	♩=60	♩=60
R.2 *Veloce in Fl and Ob*	*veloce*	No *veloce*
R.3 (recitative no.1)	♩=~60	♩=~54
R.4 *Tempo I* (intro to A)	♩=60	♩=60
R.5+(5) *Poco accelerando*	*accel.*	Almost no *accel.*
(2)-R.6 a tempo	♩=72	♩=60
R.7 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=50	𝅗𝅥=50
R.22 (recitative no.2)	♩=~60	♩=~54
R.23 *Fließend* (intro to C)	𝅗𝅥.=34 ♩.=68 ♩=102	𝅗𝅥.=30 ♩.=60 ♩=90
R.24 *(Allmächlich zu ganzen Takten übergehend.)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108

R.26	Moves forward around 𝅗𝅥.=50	Does not move forward.
R.27 *(sehr ruhige ganze takte)* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.30 *A tempo, sehr flißend* (interlude)	𝅗𝅥.=46 ♩.=92 ♩=136	𝅗𝅥.=46 ♩.=92 ♩=136
R.31 *Wieder sehr ruhig (3/4)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=38 ♩.=76 ♩=116
R.36 *Mäßig* (Postlude-transition)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)
R.38 *Schwer* (Second Lied)	♩=68	♩=60
R.41 *(a tempo. Subito)*	♩=60	♩=60
R.46	Gets heavier ♩=~50	Gets heavier ♩=~50
R.46+(5)	♩=50	♩=50
R.47	Added *ritardando*	Added *ritardando*
R.47+(5)	Added *a tempo*	Added *a tempo*
R.48+(3) *(Nicht eilen.)* (recitative no.3)	♩=~54	♩=~62
R.49 *A tempo* (intro to A)	♩=66	♩=66
R.55 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=60	𝅗𝅥=54
R.58 *Langsam* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.64 (coda)	𝅗𝅥.=40 ♩.=80 ♩=120 Added *rit*.*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108 No rit.
R.68+(4) *Rit bis zum Schluß*	*Ritenuto* has been happening	*Ritenuto* starts

CHAPTER 5: LEONARD BERNSTEIN'S 1966 *DAS LIED VON DER ERDE* RECORDING (DECCA 466 381-2DM)

BACKGROUND

Leonard Bernstein debuted with the Vienna State Opera in April of 1966 by conducting and recording Verdi's *Falstaff*. In addition to the VSO debut, he also made a debut with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra conducting Mozart's *Piano Concerto No.15* and *Das Lied von der Erde*. In accordance to the arrangement with Decca, he also recorded *Mozart's Symphony No. 36*.

For these performances and recording sessions, Bernstein used the VPO's score: Universal Edition's version that was published in 1912. Before Bernstein, *Das Lied* was performed in sixteen different programs with the VPO between 1912 and 1966. The conductors were Bruno Walter, Willem Mengelberg, Alexander Zemlinsky, Oswald Kabasta, Rafael Kubelik, and Herbert von Karajan.[74] Any of these conductors may have used this score and made annotations. However, the version currently residing in the Vienna Philharmonic Archives is predominantly marked by Leonard Bernstein. One may recognize his phrase and cue marking methods by comparing the score with his other

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[74] "Wiener Philharmoniker Archived Concerts, Das Lied von Der Erde," accessed September 26, 2020, https://www.wienerphilharmoniker.at/converts/archive.

marked scores, which are available online at the New York Philharmonic Archives. It is unknown why Bernstein wanted to use this specific score; perhaps he was looking for help from his conducting predecessors, particularly Bruno Walter, who had conducted the work with the VPO twelve times up until 1966. Bernstein kept the score for the rest of his life following his debut.[75]

In this chapter, the tempi and the artistic decisions of Bernstein's 1966 recording are compared to Bruno Walter's *Das Lied* recordings. Bernstein's marked score and a listening analysis will be the foundation for this study.

RECORDING PROCESS AND THE SOLOISTS

This recording was made by Decca Music in Vienna's Sofiensaal. Producer John Culshaw and recording engineer Gordon Parry used a high-quality stereo tape recording system, a custom-built mixing desk, and four different condenser microphones to capture the sound of the orchestra and two soloists. Both singers were internationally renowned; Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau was a Mahlerian baritone, and American tenor James King had enjoyed great success in Wagnerian roles.

In 1959, Paul Kletzki released a recording of *Das Lied* with two male soloists. This is the first recording that used baritone instead of alto. He conducted the Philharmonia Orchestra with soloists Murray Dickie (tenor) and Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau (baritone). Bernstein's 1966 recording with the Vienna Philharmonic is the second recording that uses two male soloists, and Fischer-Dieskau is used again. Bruno Walter, too, experimented

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[75] Cooper, "Finally Returning Bernstein's Overdue Mahler."

with the optional baritone voice at the first Viennese performance of the work in the Spring of 1912, but he had thought that the alto voice better fulfilled the vocal demands. He felt that the contrast between an alto and tenor sounded better than two male singers.[76]

DAS TRINKLIED VOM JAMMER DER ERDE

Bernstein takes a stimulating speed of ♩=188 as the main tempo of this movement. This introduction, along with the first strophe, carries the same tempo until R.6. Marked *etwas gehaltener* (somewhat sustained), R.6 is taken at ♩=150. This passage is followed by a *l'istesso tempo* indication, which suggests the conductor keep the previous tempo. Formally, this is the measure where the B sections starts. Bernstein does not take this section in the indicated tempo. Compared to the Walter recordings, Bernstein's interpretation in this section is similar to Walter's 1936 performance where he took the R.6 in a slow tempo of ♩=158 and then sped up to ♩=176 at R.7.

The first refrain starts at R.11. Starting two measures before R.10, Mahler indicates a decline in tempo. This is followed by a peaceful tempo at R.10 and is followed by a more relaxed tempo at R.11. Just like Walter, Bernstein takes ♩=126 from the introduction to the first refrain (R.10). But, right when James King enters at the refrain, the tempo speeds up only to slow down again. The second and third refrain are not any different in terms of *rubato*. Each time the Tenor enters, the tempo speeds up about 10 BPM, and then it immediately slows down. As mentioned in the previous chapters, Mahler does not slur the second half of the first two refrains while the last refrain is not slurred at all. All three

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[76] Walter, *Theme and Variations*: 193.

recordings have no audible changes to highlight these differences. Finally, each refrain calls for *glissandi* in the score: first in the first harp, second in the second violins and violas, and lastly in both harps. Bernstein removes the *glissandi* in the second violins and violas for the second refrain, thus repeating the tradition set by Walter. This observation is also supported in the New York Philharmonic Archives' second violin parts, which were marked during Bernstein's rehearsals.[77]

Although not marked in the score, Bernstein takes the beginning of the development section and the recapitulation faster. Even though there are no written tempo indications at the beginning of recapitulation, returning to the exposition tempo is traditionally an accepted practice. Moreover, this tempo change was also executed by Walter. Finally, Bernstein takes a drastically slower tempo at ♩=88 in the very last refrain (R.47) and is followed by the very last *ritornelle* (R.48), which he takes at a brisk ♩=208 tempo. He creates a very surprising effect with this decision. The tempo changes starting at R.47 are original creative decisions of Bernstein and not repeated ideas of Walter.

Table 5.1 *Das Trinklied vom Jammer der Erde*, recorded by Bernstein in 1966

Indicated Tempo Markings	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1936	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1960	Metronomes Taken by Bernstein 1966
Beginning *Allegro pesante*	♩=170	♩=150	♩=188
R.6 *Etwas gehalgener*	♩=158	♩=140	♩=150

[77] "Mahler, Gustav / LIED VON DER ERDE, DAS / Violin 2 (ID: 2162): 3," Accessed September 26, 2020, https://archives.nyphil.org/index.php/artifact/7dfc1afd-0164-482e-97c5-628866ed10a0-0.1/fullview#page/4/mode/2up.

R.7 *Sempre l'istesso tempo*	♩=176*	♩=146*	♩=180*
R.10 *zurückhalten. Ruhig.*	♩=146	♩=132	♩=120
R.11 (refrain) *sehr ruhig*	♩=126	♩=126	♩=140 with *rit.* starting immediately*
R.12 *tempo I. subito.* (second exposition)	♩=182	♩=150	♩=188
R.16 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=162*	Not necessarily slower except the *rubato* before R.17	♩=146*
R.17	♩=176*	♩=150	♩=188
R.17+(4)			♩=170*
R.18	♩=162*	♩=150	♩=154*
R.20	♩=178*	♩=150	♩=188
R.22	♩=162*	♩=136*	♩=158*
R.23 *a tempo, sehr ruhig*	♩=158	♩=128	♩=130
(8)-R.24 *(a tempo, sehr ruhig)* (refrain)	♩=120*	♩=114*	♩=130
R.24	♩=136*	♩=114*	♩=112*
R.25 *a tempo* (after a rit.) (development)	♩=146	♩=146	♩=164
R.26	♩=146*	♩=136*	♩=154*
R.37	♩=170*	♩=156*	♩=160*
R.39 (recapitulation)	♩=180	♩=156	♩=188*
(3)-R.41	♩=196*	♩=156	♩=188
R.45 *a tempo* (after a rit.)	♩=165	♩=126	♩=134
R.46	♩=136	♩=126	♩=88*
R.47 *a tempo zeit lassen.* (refrain)	♩=136	♩=116	♩=88*
R.48 *tempo I.*	♩=174	♩=150	♩=206*

DER EINSAME IM HERBST

The second movement of Bernstein's 1960 recording is very controlled, and there are only two main tempi. The movement begins with the tempo of the 𝅗𝅥=42. Though, in the beginning of the second movement in Bernstein's VPOA score, one can observe a 𝅗𝅥=ca.50 marking. This tempo was the one Walter established in his 1960 recording. Bernstein's 𝅗𝅥=42 tempo is slower than any recordings of Walter. His *Fließend* tempo goes up to only 𝅗𝅥=48, which is the same tempo of Walter's 1960 recording.

In addition to two main tempi points that are very similar to Walter's interpretations, Bernstein recreates one major artistic decision of Walter. At R.12, when the text mentions tiredness and sleepiness, Walter slows down until R.13, where he returns to the main tempo. Bernstein follows Walter's path with some exaggeration. Right before R.13, the music comes to a stopping point and is followed by the main 𝅗𝅥=42 tempo at R.13. One can clearly read in Bernstein's VPO score that this movement's beginning is marked *sul tasto* in the first violin section. This was an observation in Walter's recordings as well.

VON DER JUGEND

The third *lied* is the shortest and simplest of all in terms of form and tempi. The movement starts with a *Behaglich heiter* (pleasantly elated) tempo. This indication does not change until the fifth stanza (R.10). At R.10, the tempo is reduced from *ruhiger* to *langsam* to *molto ritardando* until R.14, where the *tempo I* is indicated again. In other words, the tempi are fast-slow-fast. Bernstein takes the first section at 𝅗𝅥=92 and the second section at 𝅗𝅥=~60 with *ritardandi*. The *tempo I* (A') that starts at R.14 is taken at 𝅗𝅥=98, a

little faster than the beginning. Here Bernstein creates a surprising moment again, comparable to what he did at the end of the first movement.

One similar artistic decision shared by Walter and Bernstein happens right before R.10. In the 1936 recording, Walter does not slow down and takes the slow tempo *subito*. In the 1960 recording, he slows down two measures before *ruhiger*. Bernstein, also, slows down two measures before R.10, creating a feeling of arrival before the slow section.

VON DER SCHÖNHEIT

In this movement, while Bernstein creates unique artistic decisions by closely following the score's suggestions, he also respects Walter's path of tradition. Bernstein starts the movement at ♩=60bpm, which was the tempo in Walter's 1960 recording. But, Walter does not go back to this tempo whenever the introduction motif repeats. In fact, he never repeats the introduction motif in ♩=60. Bernstein, on the other hand, interprets this movement differently. During the A section of the A-B-A' form, whenever the introduction motif appears, he returns to ♩=60. The beginning of the B section (R.7) starts with this introduction motif, which is taken at ♩=60. The last appearance of the motif is at the beginning of A' (R.16). After a unprecedentedly fast passage, he takes the introduction motif in ♩=76 and keeps slowing down. At R.17, for the last time, Mahler writes the introduction theme, and Bernstein, again, takes it in ♩=60. In terms of recreating the feeling of an introduction, Bernstein's new interpretation of these motifs are more distinctive than Walter's.

However, there are unwritten tempo changes and added momentums that are very similar to Walter's recordings. For example, the tempo changes that Bernstein makes three measures after R.3 and at R.4 are not indicated on the score. The motifs are the same as the ones in the A section, which has tempo changes, so adding them in the later sections of the movement is reasonable. This artistic decision was also made by Walter. Moreover, the passages between R.6 to R.7 and R.17 to R.19 includes a considerable amount of *rubato* both in Walter's recordings and in Bernstein's.

One interesting approach of Bernstein's can be seen in the arrival tempo at the end of the *accelerando* passage of the B section. The *allmächlich belebend* starts at ♩=90 (three measures before R.7). By R.8, Bernstein reaches ♩=100 and in only four measures, the tempo accelerates to ♩=120. *Noch etwas flotter* (R.10) starts in ♩=140 and the B section ends at ♩=170. In comparison to any of Walter's recordings, this is very fast. Even his wild 1936 recording never passes ♩=150. During this B section, Bernstein has created a series of very exciting moments.

Similar to both recordings of Walter, Bernstein adds a gradual *morendo* at the end of the recapitulation. In Walter's interpretations, a ritardando starts around the beginning of the postlude (three measures before R.21), while Bernstein is already starting to slow down in the beginning of A' (R.16). After the *rubato* section, Bernstein arrives to ♩=46 and keeps the gradual *morendo* until the very end.

Table 5.2 *Von der Schönheit*, recorded by Bernstein in 1966

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960	Tempo Taken by Bernstein 1966
Beginning *Comodo. Dolcissimo.*	♩=70	♩=60	♩=60
R.1+(2) *etwas Fließend* (motif A)	♩=80	♩=78	♩=68
R.2+(1) *Ruhiger*	♩=68	♩=64	♩=52
R.3+(3) (Beginning motif)	♩=80*	♩=76*	♩=60*
R.4 (motif A)	♩=80*	♩=76	♩=72*
R.5 *a tempo I (ruhiger)* (Beginning motif but *ruhiger*)	♩=88	♩=76	♩=68
R.7+(3) *Allmälich belebend*	♩=94* (takes it *subito* instead)	♩=86* (still *subito,* but not as radical*)*	♩=90* (*subito)*
R.8 (still moving ahead)	♩=98	♩=88	♩=100
R.8+(4) *Piu mosso subito (marchmäßig)*	♩=120	♩=106	♩=120
R.9	♩=130* (added gradual *accelerando*)	♩=116* (added gradual *accelerando*)	♩=130
R.10 *Noch etwas flotter*	♩=130	♩=124	♩=140
R.10+(5) *Immer fließender*	♩=144	♩=128	♩=150
R.12 *Allegro*	♩=150	♩=128	♩=150
R.14 *Immer fließender*	♩=140* (slows down despite the indication)	♩=134* (corrects the interpretation)	♩=160 (faster, as indicated)
R.15+(1) *Immer noch drägender*	♩=148	♩=134	♩=170
(1)-R.16	Added *rit.* *	No *rit.*	No *rit.*

R.16 *Tempo I subito (Andante)* (Beginning motif)	♩=60	♩=76	♩=76 (immediately starts slowing down)
R.16+(3) (motif A)	♩=80* (this time *etwas fließend* not indicated)	♩=76 (corrects the interpretation)	♩=68* (still slowing down)
R.17+(3) to R.19	♩=70 with *rubati* *	♩=70	♩=with *rubati* *
R.19 *Ganz ruhig*	♩=66	♩=60	♩=46
R.22 until end	*Ritardando**	*Ritardando**	*Ritardando**

DER TRUNKENE IM FRÜHLING

Bernstein's control over the tempi in this movement is remarkably precise. Every *ritornelle* motif and the motif A are taken in ♩=112. There is only one exception to this exactness. At the recapitulation (three measures before R.12), the *ritornelle* is taken in a slightly faster tempo at ♩=120. This section is the dynamic climax of the movement. Therefore, creating additional excitement with the exaggeration of tempo is supportable. In Walter's recordings, this section is traditionally taken faster than the previous *ritornelli*. In the score, A different tempo for motif B is never specified, except for the slow passages during the development section in which the motif B is also developed. However, during the development, both the motif A and the ritornelle motif are also slower. During this entire movement, both Walter and Bernstein take the motif B slower.

Table 5.3 *Der Trunkene im Früling*, recorded by Bernstein 1966

Indicated Tempo Markings	Tempo Taken by Walter 1936	Tempo Taken by Walter 1960	Tempo Taken by Bernstein 1966
Beginning *Allegro* (*ritornelle* motif)	♩=120	♩=96	♩=112
R.1 (motif B)	♩=96*	♩=90*	♩=90*
R.2 *a tempo* (*ritornelle*)	♩=120	♩=96	♩=112
R.3+(3) (motif B)	♩=100*	♩=90*	♩=90*
(2)-R.5 *A tempo* (*ritornelle*)	♩=120	♩=96	♩=112
R.5	Unwritten *ritardando* until R.6 ♩=98 to ♩=72*	No rit.	*Ritardando**
R.6 *Zurückhalten*	♩=72	*Ritardando* starts	Rit. Started at R.5
R.6+(4) *Langsam*	♩=60	♩=70	♩=50
R.7 *Tempo I subito* (*ritornelle* developed)	♩=114	♩=96	♩=112
R.8+(3) (B delevoped)	♩=76*	♩=80*	♩=76*
R.9+(1) *Ganz langsam*	♩=60	♩=60	♩=50
(3)-R.10 *Etwas fließender*	♩=98	♩=92	♩=76
R.10 *Tempo I Subito* (B delevoped)	♩=108* (slower than Tempo I)	♩=90* (slower than Tempo I)	♩=100* (slower than Tempo I)
R.11+(3) *A tempo* (Recapitulation) (*ritornelle*)	♩=128* (faster *ritornelle*)	♩=108* (faster *ritornelle*)	♩=120* (faster *ritornelle*)
R.12 (motif A)	♩=120	♩=108* (faster A)	♩=112
R.14 *Allegro* (Coda) (*ritornelle*)	♩=124* (faster *ritornelle*)	♩=108* (faster *ritornelle*)	♩=112

DER ABSCHIED

It was mentioned earlier that, while this movement is very dense and complex in terms of tempi and form, it does not leave much room for conductors to create diverse interpretations. In both the first and second *lied*, Bernstein takes the beginning motif at ♩=60. Similarly, the motif A is in ♩ =60, the motif B is in 𝅗𝅥 =56, and the motif C is in 𝅗𝅥.=36. In comparison to Walter's tempi, the beginning, and the motifs A and C match both of his recordings.

In terms of artistic decisions, Bernstein executes the *veloce* marking at R.2 in the first flute and the first oboe. This *veloce* motif repeats in a few sections, but it is not clear whether or not every section should speed up. For example, five measures after R.5, the same motif is marked *poco accelerando*. Bernstein's artistic decision is to execute this moment as he did at R.2 with an added *veloce*. Walter makes almost no change of tempo in the 1960 recording, while his 1936 recording does speed up five measures after R.5. Seven measures after R.54, the same chromatic motif comes back at the second *lied*. Bernstein remembers this motif and repeats the moment with an added *veloce*. This is a unique artistic decision and is justified by score analysis.

Starting at the beginning of the coda, Mahler writes an orchestral *ritardando* by expanding the note values. In the 1936 recording, in addition to the orchestral *ritardando*, Walter starts slowing the tempo down before the indicated *ritenuto* at the beginning of the coda (R.64). The 1960 recording by Walter and Bernstein's 1966 recordings starts the *ritenuto* at the indicated tempo marking (four measures after R.68) and ends the music with a big *ritardando*, thus creating a peaceful and fulfilling ending.

Table 5.4 *Der Abschied*, recorded by Bernstein in 1966

Indicated Tempo Markings .	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1936	Metronomes Taken by Walter 1960	Metronomes Taken by Bernstein 1966
Beginning *Schwer*	♩=60	♩=60	♩=60
R.2 *Veloce in Fl and Ob*	*veloce*	No *veloce*	*Veloce*
R.3 (recitative no.1)	♩=~60	♩=~54	♩=~46
R.4 *Tempo I* (intro to A)	♩=60	♩=60	♩=60
R.5+(5) *Poco accelerando*	*accelerando*	Almost no *accel*.	*Accelerando*
(2)-R.6 a tempo	♩=72	♩=60	♩=50
R.7 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=50	𝅗𝅥=50	𝅗𝅥=56
R.22 (recitative no.2)	♩=~60	♩=~54	♩=~50
R.23 *Fließend* (intro to C)	𝅗𝅥.=34 ♩.=68 ♩=102	𝅗𝅥.=30 ♩.=60 ♩=90	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.24 *(Allmächlich zu ganzen Takten übergehend.)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.26	Moves forward around 𝅗𝅥.=50	Does not move forward.	Moves forward around 𝅗𝅥.=50
R.27 *(sehr ruhige ganze takte)* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108

R.30 *A tempo, sehr fließend* (interlude)	𝅗𝅥.=46 ♩.=92 ♩=136	𝅗𝅥.=46 ♩.=92 ♩=136	𝅗𝅥.=40 ♩.=80 ♩=120
R.31 *Wieder sehr ruhig (3/4)*	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=38 ♩.=76 ♩=116	𝅗𝅥.=40 ♩.=80 ♩=120
R.36 *Mäßig* (Postlude-transition)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)	𝅗𝅥=60 (slows down)
R.38 *Schwer* (Second Lied)	♩=68	♩=60	♩=60
R.41 *(a tempo. Subito)*	♩=60	♩=60	♩=60
R.46	Gets heavier ♩=~50	Gets heavier ♩=~50	Gets heavier ♩=~50
R.46+(5)	♩=50	♩=50	♩=60
R.47	Added *ritardando*	Added *ritardando*	Added *ritardando*
R.47+(5)	Added *a tempo*	Added *a tempo*	Added *a tempo*
R.48+(3) *(Nicht eilen.)* (recitative no.3)	♩=~54	♩=~62	♩=~46
R.49 *A tempo* (intro to A)	♩=66	♩=66	♩=60
R.55 *Sehr mäßig* (intro to B)	𝅗𝅥=60	𝅗𝅥=54	𝅗𝅥=56
R.58 *Langsam* (C section)	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108
R.64 (coda)	𝅗𝅥.=40 ♩.=80 ♩=120 Added *rit.**	𝅗𝅥.=36 ♩.=72 ♩=108 No rit.	No rit.
R.68+(4) *Ritenuto bis zum Schluß*	*Ritenuto* has been happening	*Ritenuto* starts	*Ritenuto* starts

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY

Reading the news about *Das Lied von der Erde* score being returned to Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra Archives (VPOA) from the New York Philharmonic Archives in 2017 led to this study.[78] The score in the VPO archives was mostly marked by Bernstein, but there were also visible markings by others. Bernstein borrowed the score from the VPO because the markings inside provided valuable insight into how to realize the piece.

Mahler was the music director of the VPO and the NYP for a short period of time and Walter, his assistant conductor at the Vienna State Opera, would regularly conduct both orchestras. He also accepted an advisory position at the NYP for a brief period. Bernstein never became Walter's assistant, but when he was assisting Rodzinski, he was hired as a substitute conductor to lead a concert that Walter was going to conduct. Just like Mahler and Walter, Bernstein too had a very close relationship with both orchestras, acting as the music director of the NYP for ten years.

Mahler never heard his *Das Lied von der Erde* and his *Symphony No. 9* performed. They were both premiered by his mentee, Bruno Walter. Walter also released the first recording of *Das Lied* in 1936 and conducted the music with many orchestras, including the NYP. In December 1934, he conducted the piece with the NYP, pairing it with Mozart's *Piano Concerto No. 20*, playing the piano part himself. Coincidentally, Bernstein's VPO

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[78] Cooper, "Finally Returning Bernstein's Overdue Mahler."

debut also featured *Das Lied von der Erde* paired with Mozart's *Piano Concerto No.15,* conducted and performed by himself.

Bernstein's reason for using the VPO's score was to understand what Bruno Walter and the VPO created together, since Mahler was a great influence on the orchestra and the city for many years. After studying the score and recordings in detail, many apparent similarities can be seen between the two conductors' interpretations.

Mahler is specific in his writing, and, because he was both a conductor and composer, his scores are quite clear and instructive for conductors. He did, however, edit many aspects of the score after the first readings of his works. The score for *Das Lied von der Erde* was published after his death, so he did not have the chance to edit the score. There are many passages in the score that probably needed additional tempo markings. Bruno Walter understood these omissions and executed additional tempo changes in many places throughout the score. These additions set the performance tradition standard for the music.

In the score for the first movement, the beginnings of the development and recapitulation are not marked with *Tempo I* by Mahler, even though they are the same theme as the beginning. Walter interprets these moments at the beginning tempi and Bernstein executes the same interpretation. The refrain motif is vital for this movement, both due to its text and the musical form. In each refrain, both conductors interpreting the same way, ignoring or not emphasizing enough the written articulations by the composer in the score.

The inner movements have slightly more freedom, but also feature more written indications in the score. The second movement follows Walter's *sul tasto* indication.

Additionally, Bernstein slows down two measures before R.12, like Walter, instead of taking a new sudden tempo. Bernstein creates the same elevating moment he created in ending of the first movement, taking the A' tempo slightly faster than the beginning. This forward motion is followed by an exaggeratedly slowed B section that heightens the excitement of the recapitulation. Bernstein's approach to tempo in the fourth movement is unique, where he follows the indications of score more accurately than Walter. The very long *accelerando* section that starts in the beginning of development (R.7) starts at ♩=60 and reaches ♩=170 right before recapitulation (R.16). The breathlessness that the program ask for is very well executed in this recording. Bernstein also follows the tempo changes of Walter. Whenever the motif A occurs, he slows down despite there being no written indications in the score. Similarly, in the fifth movement, Bernstein follows Walter's model by taking the motif B slower despite the lack of written tempo changes in the score.

The last movement is marked in three parts in Bernstein's VPOA score, each beginning with a recitative. This is clearly an indication that Bernstein thinks this movement has three sections, instead of a binary form. It is unclear what Walter thinks, formally. In any case, Bernstein precisely replicates Walter's tempi in the beginning of each motif. Arrivals and the inside of sections are varied, but the tempi of each section are the same. The beginning and A section is ♩=60, the B section is 𝅗𝅥=50, and the C section is 𝅗𝅥.=36.

Mahler, Walter, and Bernstein are three of the most well-known musicians in the Western world with abundant existing research about their lives and careers. But, in terms of performance history of *Das Lied von der Erde* and comparisons between the three

conductors, there is very little existing research. It is clear that Bernstein does indeed follow Walter's recordings, while also adding new and effective details to the music.

Walter, as the first conductor to premiere and record Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde,* is a trailblazer for tempi and details of rubato. Bernstein, commonly regarded as a great Mahler interpreter, followed Walter's interpretations of tempi and added even more special details to amplify the wonder of Mahler.

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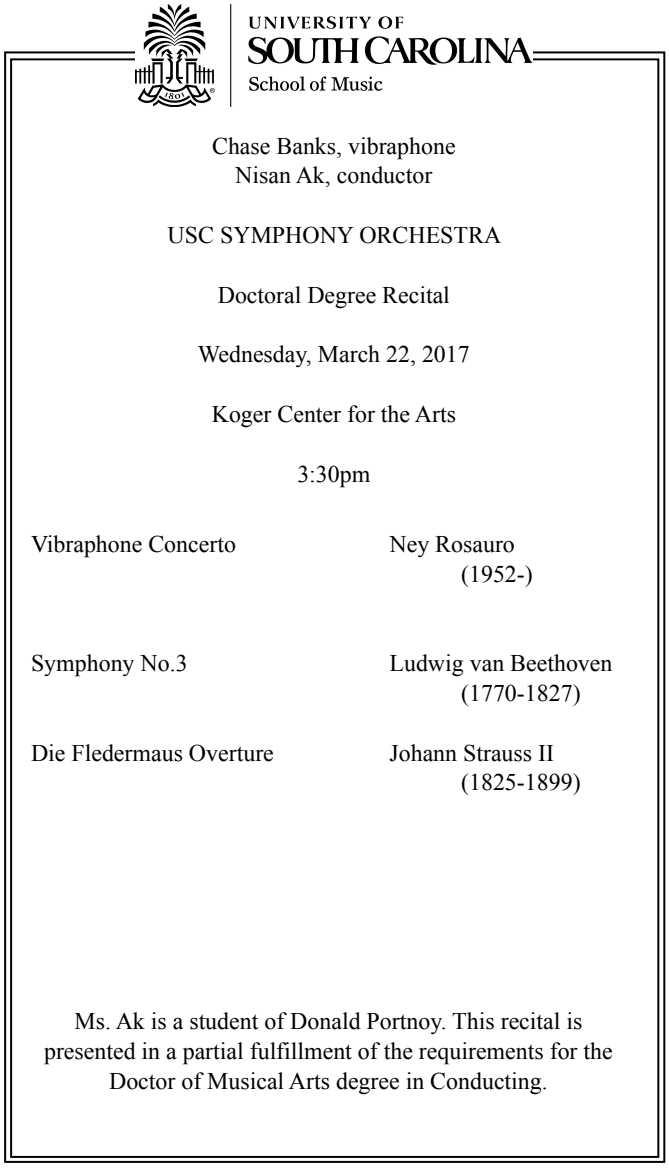
APPENDIX A: DEGREE REQUIRED RECITAL PROGRAMS



UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
School of Music

Chase Banks, vibraphone
Nisan Ak, conductor

USC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Doctoral Degree Recital

Wednesday, March 22, 2017

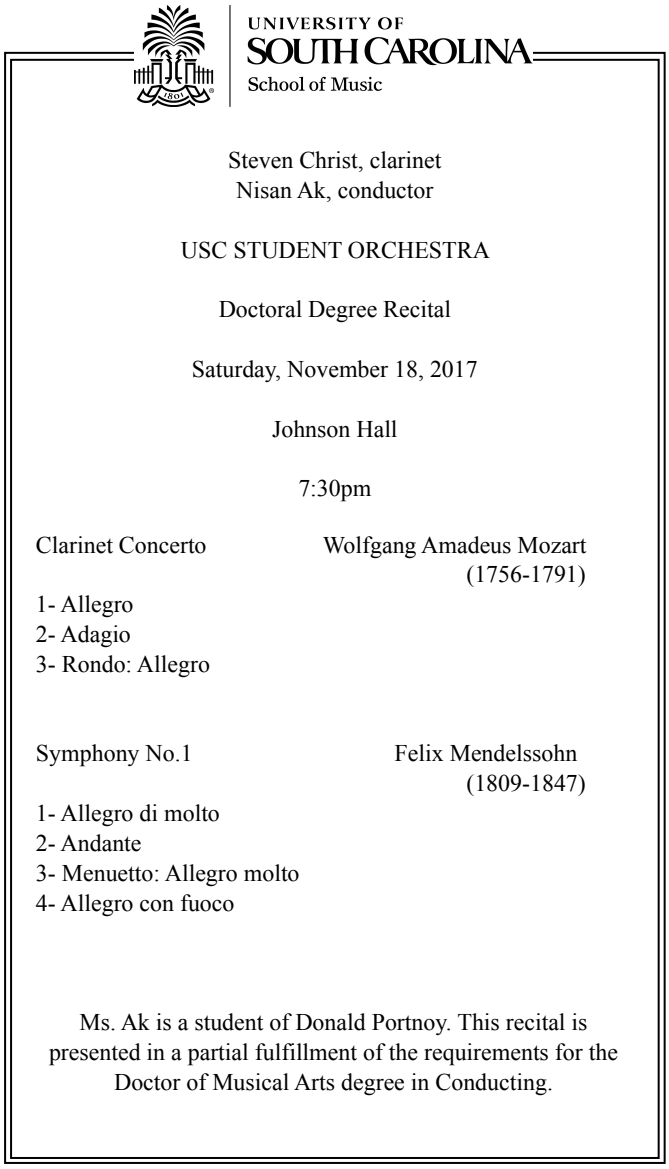
Koger Center for the Arts

3:30pm

Vibraphone Concerto	Ney Rosauro (1952-)
Symphony No.3	Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827)
Die Fledermaus Overture	Johann Strauss II (1825-1899)

Ms. Ak is a student of Donald Portnoy. This recital is presented in a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Conducting.

Figure A.1: DMA Degree Required Recital No. 1


UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
School of Music

Steven Christ, clarinet
Nisan Ak, conductor

USC STUDENT ORCHESTRA

Doctoral Degree Recital

Saturday, November 18, 2017

Johnson Hall

7:30pm

Clarinet Concerto — Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791)

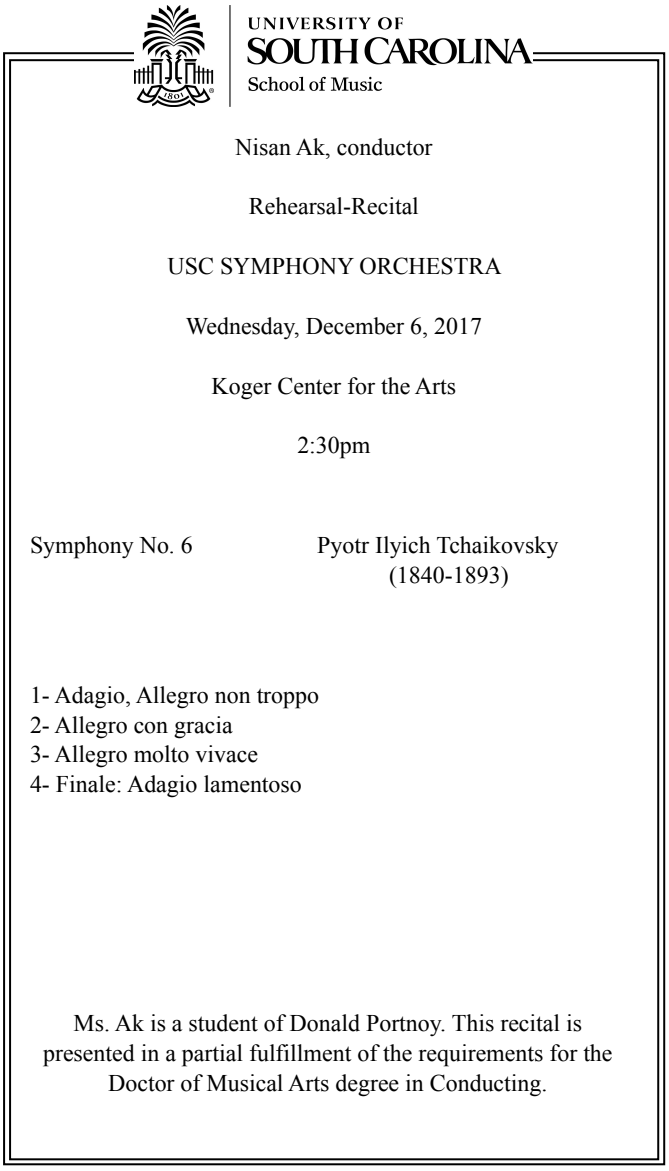
1- Allegro
2- Adagio
3- Rondo: Allegro

Symphony No.1 — Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847)

1- Allegro di molto
2- Andante
3- Menuetto: Allegro molto
4- Allegro con fuoco

Ms. Ak is a student of Donald Portnoy. This recital is presented in a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Conducting.

Figure A.2: DMA Degree Required Recital No. 2


UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
School of Music

Nisan Ak, conductor

Rehearsal-Recital

USC SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

Wednesday, December 6, 2017

Koger Center for the Arts

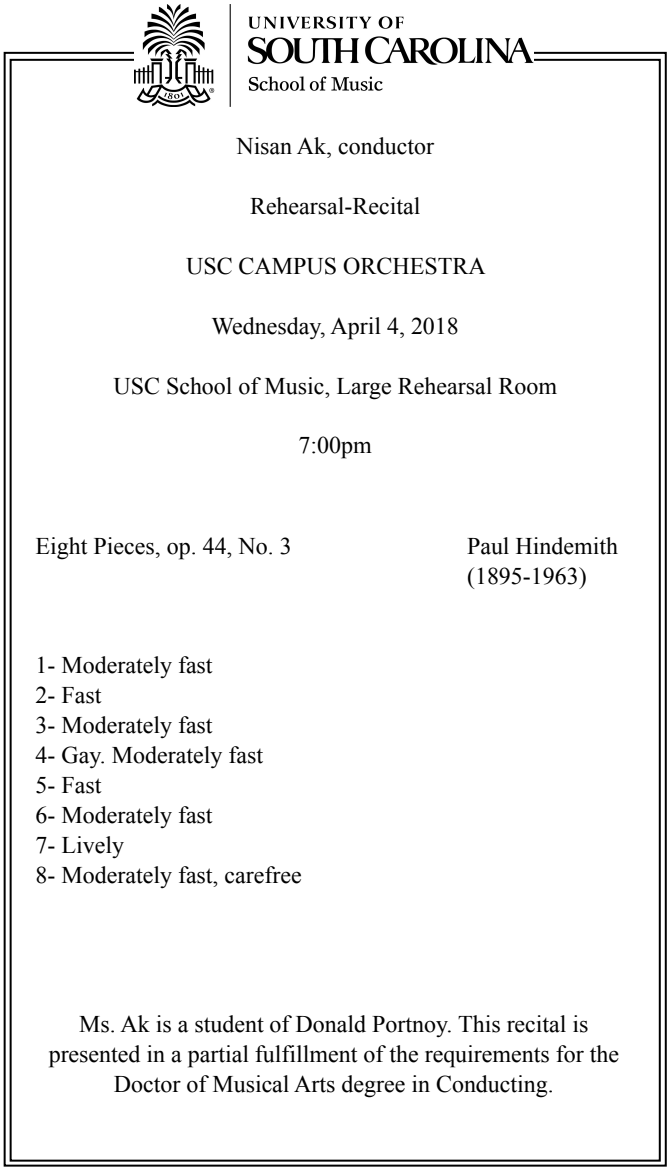
2:30pm

Symphony No. 6 — Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky (1840-1893)

1- Adagio, Allegro non troppo
2- Allegro con gracia
3- Allegro molto vivace
4- Finale: Adagio lamentoso

Ms. Ak is a student of Donald Portnoy. This recital is presented in a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Conducting.

Figure A.3: DMA Degree Required Recital No. 3



UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
School of Music

Nisan Ak, conductor

Rehearsal-Recital

USC CAMPUS ORCHESTRA

Wednesday, April 4, 2018

USC School of Music, Large Rehearsal Room

7:00pm

Eight Pieces, op. 44, No. 3 — Paul Hindemith (1895-1963)

1- Moderately fast
2- Fast
3- Moderately fast
4- Gay. Moderately fast
5- Fast
6- Moderately fast
7- Lively
8- Moderately fast, carefree

Ms. Ak is a student of Donald Portnoy. This recital is presented in a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Conducting.

Figure A.4: DMA Degree Required Recital No. 4

UNIVERSITY OF
SOUTH CAROLINA
School of Music

Miguel Hijar, flute
Nisan Ak, conductor

BRUCH CHAMBER ORCHESTRA

Doctoral Degree Recital

Wednesday, April 10, 2019

USC Recital Hall

6:00pm

Symphony No. 5	Franz Schubert (1797-1828)
Flute Concerto No.2 in D major	W. A Mozart (1756-1791)

Ms. Ak is a student of Donald Portnoy. This recital is presented in a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Musical Arts degree in Conducting.

Figure A.5: DMA Degree Required Recital No. 5